REVUE HISPANIQUE

Recueil consacré à l'étude des langues, des littératures et de l'histoire des pays castillans, catalans et portugais

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R. FOULCHÉ-DELBOSC

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LIFE AND WORKS OF LUIS DE BELMONTE BERMÚDEZ

(1587 ?-1650 ?)

CHAPTER I

LIFE

Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez was born in Seville in or about the year 1587[1], and is believed to have died about 1650[2]. Neither the date of his birth nor that of his death has been clearly established. The fact that he was a Sevillan is known from the following reference to Belmonte quoted by La Barrera from the *Discurso genealógico de los Ortizes de Sevilla* by Don Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga (Cadiz, 1670. Bib. Nac. Madrid, T. 26548. Folio 12) :

> Algunos conquistadores celebra Luis de Belmonte, Poeta Sevillano, en la Hispália (Hispálica) Poema que dedicó a Don Juan de Arguijo, en esta, entre otras estancias.
>
> Esquiles, Ortizes, y Roelas
> Los de Casaos, Moscosos, y Medinas
> Vivas en los hijares las espuelas,
> Investigan empresas peregrinas.

1. *Catálogo Bibliográfico y Biográfico del Teatro Antiguo Español desde sus origines hasta mediados del siglo XVIII* por D. Cayetano Alberto de la Barrera y Leirado, Madrid, 1860, pp. 28-31.

2. *Historia de la literatura española*, Hurtado y Palencia, Madrid, 1925, p. 701.

La Hispálica is a long poem in *octavas* by Belmonte and is dedicated to D. Juan de Arguijo, *veinticuatro de Sevilla.*

This poem treats of the conquest of Seville and the prologue by Juan Bermúdez y Alfaro contains most of what is known about our author's life. The poem is believed to have been finished in 1618 [1].

From the prologue we learn that Belmonte went to New Spain (Mexico) " en sus primeros años " and that in the following year he went to Peru. Concerning this we read in the prologue :

> Pasó a Nueva España en sus primeros años, y como su inclinación le guió a ver nuevas provincias, navegó a las del Perú el año siguiente, donde, a ejemplo de los floridos ingenios de Lima, volvió al estudio loable de las musas, alcanzando gran parte de la doctrina que en sus obras descubre; que parece encarecimiento decir que en regiones tan apartadas haya quien con tanta excelencia profese la divina poesía, a quien podrán responder los que en su tiempo merecen el sagrado laurel

In his preface to *Algunas Hazañas de las muchas de Don García Hurtado de Mendoza Marqués de Cañete* (Madrid, 1622), a play written by him in collaboration with eight others, Belmonte himself tells us that he was in Lima in 1605. " Estando yo en Lima el año de 1605 me contó un capitán de aquellos estados que un levantisco soldado nuestro se había pasado a los bárbaros... "

Belmonte's part in the composition of this play is greater than that of any of the other eight collaborators. In the edition published in Madrid in 1622, in a single volume, Luis

1. *La Hispálica* por Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez published by Don Santiago de Montoto, Seville 1921. Imp. y Librería de Sobrino de Izquierdo Francos 43-47. The editor, D. Santiago de Montoto, believes that the *Hispálica* was finished in 1617 or 1618. A copy of the prologue by Juan Bermúdez y Alfaro is also found in *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española de Libros Raros y Curiosos* by D. Bartolomé José Gallardo, Madrid, 1866, vol. II, pp. 62-70.

de Belmonte Bermúdez is represented as author on the title-page, the names of the other eight being mentioned later. This would indicate clearly enough that he was considered the one most qualified to direct the writing of a play dealing with a region with which he was so familiar.

The prologue to the *Hispálica* continues :

El Dr. Rivadeneira Villaroel y el secretario Obregón, claro manifestador de los conceptos de Italia, no menos tienen el lugar que sus elegantes versos merecen; pues cuando florecían estos ingenios, escribió Luis de Belmonte un poèma vario en la invención, porque lo pedía el sujeto de sucesos de aquellas provincias, con la sucesión de los vireyes suyos, que otro por ventura lo tuviera por caudal principal, y él apenas se acuerda de haberlo hecho; tanto se ha vencido con la fuerza del trabajo.

Ofrecióse a la sazón salir una armada al descubrimiento de las regiones del Austro, y como semejantes armadas tienen necessidad de coronistas, que así lo encarga S. M. expresamente, buscó el general Pedro Fernando de Quirós persona que hiciese este oficio, y asimismo quien usase el de secretario, que no siendo menester mucho para persuadir a nuestro autor por su inclinación natural, aceptó la plaza, hallándose en él las partes que requerían ambos oficios, porque en razón de letra no conocemos en España quien le exceda, y no sin dificultad se podrá hallar quien le iguale, si bien estima en poco un don tan excelente, siendo, como es, con el extremo que en él se conoce.

As we see from this extract, Belmonte, while in Lima, wrote a poem about one of the viceroys (most probably the Marqués de Cañete) which he scarcely remembered having written, and from there he went with the general Don Pedro Fernando de Quirós on a voyage of discovery to the Austral regions as secretary and chronicler.

Belmonte's name is mentioned twice in the narrative of the voyages of Pedro Fernando de Quirós [1].

1. *Historia del descubrimiento de las regiones Austriales hecho por el general Pedro Fernando de Quirós* publicada por D. Justo Zaragoza, Madrid, 1876. Tomo I, p. 251 and p. 320. In the introduction of

In the *Hispálica,* Belmonte thus refers to the voyage with Quirós :

Oh españolas hazanas! ¿Que hombre solo
Las podrá celebrar con voz perfeta ?
A Apolo toca, pues : las mira Apolo,
Y las puede cantar como poeta,
Yo apenas conocido en nuestro Polo,
¿ Como podré sonar en la sujeta
Región del Austro, de fiereza armada
Si bien la visité como soldado ?

Más ondas penetré que vieron
Colón, Cortez, Pizarro y Magallanes;
Pues tocando las que ellos descubrieron,
Pasé con los cruzados tafetanes.
Un Capitán seguí de quien temieron,
Midiendo estrellas y fijando imanes,
Las no domadas ondas de Amfitrite,
Que ya no tiene el orbe quien le imite.

El pecho puse a la mayor jornada,
Llegando al sol los pensamientos míos,
Y tocando en la tierra, en vano armada
Nombre dimos al mar, nombre a los ríos,
Como de Aurauco en la jamás domada
Región, notaba los soberbios bríos,
Ercilla, de los bárbaros chilenos;
Si bien yo anduve más, y escribí menos.

Pudiera mi caudillo lusitano[1]
(Estrella de bizarros portugueses),

Tomo I, D. Justo Zaragoza expressed the opinion that Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez was the author of the account of the Voyages of Quirós which extend from 1595 to 1606. This question was submitted to the Real Academia de la Historia for its decision. The Academy, with Javier de Salas as *ponente,* decided formally that Belmonte was not the author. See *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia,* Madrid, 1877, vol. I, pp. 155-179. In Tomo II containing memorials and letters of the voyages of Quirós, Madrid, 1881, D. Justo Zaragoza reaffirmed his former opinion.

1. This refers to Pedro Fernandez de Quirós who was a Portuguese.

Viéndose investigar golfo inhumano,
No verdes plantas, no doradas mieses,
Hasta que el so doró, de Cintia hermano,
Las imágenes todas a los meses,
Llorar de Aries el pez, la noche, el día,
La falta de escriptor que yo suplía.

The prologue to the *Hispálica* continues with the account of Luis de Belmonte's travels :

Hizo su peregrino viaje, descubriendo en tres bajeles de la armada incultas y no domadas regiones, costeando la Nueva Guinea y las islas que llaman de Salomón, y parte de las dos Javas Mayor y Menor, engolfándose pues despues en el extendido archipielago de San Lazaro : y en fin poniendo (como el mismo dice en una estancia) nombres a los mares, puertos y ríos; y más copiosamente en los ultimos capítulos de un libro suyo en prosa, que saldrá entre las demas obras, guardando en silencio la Historia de su jornada, que escribió en versos heroicos, hasta darle la última lima, por lo poco que se agrada de sus mismas obras.

As far as is known, no such book in prose or heroic verse written by Belmonte is extant. The account of the islands visited is, in the main, correct.

Sir Clements Markham makes the following remarks on the results of the voyages of Quirós[1] :

The actual results of the voyages of Quirós and Torres were the discovery of thirteen coral islands in the Pacific, of the Duff and Bank groups, of the New Hebrides, of the eastern and southern coasts of New Guinea, and of Torres Strait, with its innumerable islands; not a barren record.

It must be remembered that the entire narrative includes an account of the voyages of Quirós from 1595 to 1606, Belmonte being on the last voyage only, having sailed from

1. Voyages of Quirós, Introduction to Translation, vol. I, London, 1904, p. 28.

Callao on December 21, 1605, and landing at Acapulco on November 23, 1606 [1].

The prologue to the *Hispálica* further relates that Belmonte was eleven months and twenty days on the sea, which agrees almost exactly with the dates just quoted. We read thus :

> Gastó en la mar once meses y veinte dias, que en golfos jamás descubiertos con hambre y sed, tanto de la tierra como del sustento, claro es que serían los peligros grandes y los trabajos inmensos. Su almiranta y lancha arribaron a las Molucas, a la sazón que acababa de ganarlas D. Pedro de Acuña, gobernador de Filipinas, y la capitana en que venía Luis de Belmonte, destrozada y perdida con la fuerza de los vientos, que pareció milagro cobró a los seis meses ultimos la costa de la Nueva España, prolongándola ochocientas leguas por la banda del Sur.
>
> Al fin, por varios casos llegó a seguro puerto; pasó a Méjico segunda vez, donde no pudiendo olvidar el manjar sabroso de las musas, escribió entre muchas comedias, que algunas hay impresas, La Vida del patriarca Ignacio de Loyola [2] en versos castellanos, que de su género dudo que alguno se le aventaje. Haráse en España la segunda impresión, y le concederán el lugar que ha tenido en todas las provincias de Indias.
>
> Dellas salió para España, aficionado con razón a los divinos ingenios de Méjico, que no es su lugar el que ménos luce en los concilios de Apolo. Y puedo decir, por algunos escritos que he visto suyos y dignos de la opinion que alcanzan, que comienzan por donde acaban muchos.
>
> Llegó a Madrid Luis de Belmonte, queriendo con su general volver a la conquista de las regiones que dejaron descubiertas : pero causas legítimas, bien contra su inclinación y gusto le forzaron a no proseguir la empresa, si bien ha gastado el tiempo aprovechadamente en los estudios que sigue, no dejando por ver las mejores ciudades de España, sólo a fin de comunicar los ingenios dellas.

The narrative of the Voyages of Quirós relates the hardships to which those aboard the vessel in which Luis de Belmonte

1. *Viajes de Quirós*, Madrid, 1676, vol. I, pp. 384, 397.
2. The poem mentioned, *La Vida de San Ignacio de Loyola*, was not reprinted in Spain.

sailed were subjected. On arriving at the Pacific coast of New Spain (Nueva España means the country of Mexico, while Mexico means Mexico City), the ship was caught in a violent storm and for some time those on board despaired of their lives.

The narrative reads thus [1] :

Seguimos nuestro camino las armas y la gente presta, con centinelas en los topes, porque se iba en demanda de un cabo que se dice de San Lucas, adonde el inglés Tomás Candi robó a la nao Santa Ana. Pasóse presto y en paz, y miércoles once de Octubre, estando sereno el cielo, bonancible el mar, sin conjunción ni oposición de luna, en la boca de la California nos dió al cuarto del alba un viento Nordeste y recio con muy grande cerrazón...

Aquí fué visto acudir sin entender, y deber sin querer acudir. Vióse más, dar los unos a la bomba, otros alijerando apriesa, y muchos roncos gritando: ¡Córtese el árbol mayor, que es el que nos lleva a fondo! Unos decian de sí, otros de no, y en un instante con hachuelas y machetes se cortó la jarcia de sotavento. El capitán llamaba a los pilotos para tomar parecer. Ellos se hacían sordos; por lo que envió a decir a todos que esperasen más una hora; más viendo muchos que se dilataba el remedio y amenazaba el cuchillo, las deligencias que hicieron eran las que al alma importan. Unos se confiesan luego, otros piden perdón, y perdonan, se abrazan y despiden; unos gimen y otros lloran, y muchos por los rincones esperando estaban la muerte.

They weathered the storm successfully, landing in a small harbor off the coast of Mexico from which they set sail November 16, 1606, arriving at Acapulco November 23, 1606 [2].

The captain left Acapulco January 1, 1607, and arrived at Mexico City on St. Anthony's Day [3].

Quirós, the captain, remained in Mexico City six months [4], returning to Spain and arriving in Madrid penniless, Octo-

1. *Viajes de Quirós*, vol. I, pp. 370, 371.
2. *Idem*, pp. 383, 384.
3. *Idem.*, p. 387.
4. Introduction to *Viajes de Quirós*, vol. I, p 49.

ber 9, 1607[1]. Immediately upon his arrival in Madrid, he presented memorials to the king through the Duke of Lerma, requesting to be equipped again to return to the Austral regions to settle a colony[2].

A comparison of the prologue to the *Hispálica* and the narrative of the *Viajes de Quirós* after the arrival at Acapulco presents some interesting questions.

The most likely sequence of events would seem to be that, after landing on the Pacific coast of Mexico (Nueva España), at the port of Acapulco, Belmonte accompanied his captain, Pedro Fernando de Quirós, on January 1, 1607, to Mexico City and that instead of returning to Spain with Quirós, who arrived in Madrid October 9, 1607, Belmonte remained in Mexico, writing some *comedias* and a poem, *El Patriarca San Ignacio de Loyola*, which was published there in 1609 and is mentioned in the prologue to the *Hispálica*.

The statement that Luis de Belmonte returned to Mexico from Spain in 1610 seems to be a misinterpretation of the words used in the prologue to the *Hispálica*, " pasó a Mexico segunda vez ", Mexico meaning Mexico City. The prologue mentions the first trip from Spain to Nueva España (meaning, of course, both the country and city of Mexico) ; the trip from there to Lima the next year; the voyage from Lima to the Austral regions in the Pacific, with the return finally to a safe harbor on the coast of New Spain (Acapulco); saying immediately thereafter that he went a second time to Mexico

1. *Viajes de Quirós*, vol. I, p. 389.

2. *Idem*, vol. I, p. 389. Quirós remained in Spain, most of the time in Madrid, where he was continually printing and presenting memorials to the king, until, finally in 1614, he received an order to proceed to Peru to be fitted out for his expedition. Quirós sailed the next year, but died shortly after arriving in the New World. He had received a similar order in 1609, but had refused to act on it, as its terms were too general to suit him. See *Introduction* to *Viajes de Quirós*, p. 58, also *Viajes de Quirós*, vol. I, pp. 394-402.

(Mexico City), the second trip to Mexico City mentioned being directly from Acapulco.

Though it is possible that Belmonte may have returned to Spain with Quirós in 1607, it seems more likely that he remained there until as late as 1609 at least, for his poem, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, was published there in that year. It would seem very improbable that he made another trip out to Mexico in 1610. This theory, first advanced in 1871 by Fernandez-Guerra in his Life of Ruiz de Alarcón [1], has since been followed by D. Justo Zaragoza in the Introduction to the *Viajes de Quirós* published by himself in 1876 [2].

From the part of the prologue to the *Hispálica* already quoted, in which Belmonte's return to Spain and Madrid is mentioned, we see that he travelled extensively about Spain, coming into contact with the intellectuals of the country. This may explain how he occupied himself after his return to Spain before we hear of him again in 1615 or 1616 in Seville at the time of the publication of *La Aurora de Christo*.

The prologue to the *Hispálica* ends thus :

Ha escrito después que vino, algunas comedias que ellas mismas si no se miran con envidia vulgar, muestran el caudal de su dueño; pero como las comedias es género que el que menos entiende las censura, y el que menos escribe se arremete a hacerlas, padecen per-

1. *D. Juan Ruiz de Alarcón de Mendoza* by D. Luis Fernandez-Guerra y Orbe, Madrid, 1871, p. 360. « Antigua era la amistad de Alarcón y Belmonte Bermúdez, como nacida en los teatros de Méjico, donde ya se dijo quanto aplauso arrancaban las comedias chistosas y epigramáticas de este ingenio sevillano (pp. 106 et 358). Había pasado su juventud peregrinando por la mar; estuvo en Nueva España el año de 1604; al siguiente obtenia en Lima grandes alabanzes de lucidísimo poeta; y en el de 1610, segunda vez en Méjico, sacaba a luz un poema de San Ignacio. Dejó el Nuevo Mundo y volvió a Sevilla en 1615. » Fernandez-Guerra cites no authority for the above, so undoubtedly it is a conclusion reached by himself.

2. *Introduction, Viajes de Quirós*, vol. I, pp. 67, 68. See also idem, p. 35 and foot-note.

secución del vulgo ignorante las más bien ordenadas y sujetas a la disposición del cuento; siendo así verdad que la eleccion está en los menos, a quien agradan siempre las que llevan ingenio, y desto hace escribir Lope de Vega con algún trabajo comedia que afirmaba ser la mejor suya y recibirse menos bien que otras, que el mismo certificaba haberlas hecho de repente.

Por ser el ultimo trabajo de Luis de Belmonte *La Aurora de Cristo*, lleva el postrer lugar de sus obras, que aunque pequeño y escrito con la priesa que sabemos merece nombre en los de su género [1].

« El Cisne del Jordan » trabaja con felice cuidado y estudio; si no me engaña la afición de sus versos será trabajo lucido, si bien las de las novelas, a que ha puesto la postrera mano, será (sin ofender con ajena comparación) uno de los que mas bien reciba España, por el donaire, invención y agudeza con que escribe la prosa. Movióse a escribirle, ver la ultima novela de Cervantes, ingenio digno de ser reconocido por excelente, sin la conclusión que pide la curiosidad de los lectores; porque habiendo escrito la « Vida de Berganza », uno de los perros del hospital de Valladolid, deja en silencio la de Cipión; no sé si diga que porque le faltaron amos verosímiles a quien pudiera servir un perro, por haber gastado con el otro cuantos pudo haber a las manos.

Al fin Luis de Belmonte, comenzando por ella prosigue hasta doce sus novelas, tan agradables, que por ellas solas mereciera nombre qualquier buen ingenio. Demás que quien viere la Hispálica debajo de la proteccion que lleva, se persuadirá a que las obras de su autor no carecen de las partes que piden las que han de salir a luz en nuestro dorado siglo. Tanto puede la aprobación y amparo de quien honra y estima las mismas cosas que profesa y entiende [2].

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1. *La Aurora de Cristo por Luis de Belmonte*, etc. En Sevilla, (Impreso con licencia y Privelegio por Francisco de Lyra. Año 1616). The statement by Belmonte to the reader is as follows : " Letor; Este (libro) envío delante como explorador; si descubriese en tu gusto tierra fértil, te haré un presente de la vida del bienventurado " Ignacio de Loyola " que en coplas castellanas imprimí en Méjico. Y a vueltas dél la " Hispálica " poema heroico; y por contera " El Momo de nuestros tiempos ", en mala prosa; que te prometo estoy enfadado de comedias, porque como tu lo has visto, parecen bien las de todo punto desatinadas. "

2. *El Cisne del Jordan* and the twelve novels mentioned are not extant. It is possible that they were not printed and that the manuscripts were lost.

Unless Belmonte is the author, or rather the compiler, of the *Historia de descubrimiento de las regiones Australes por el general D. Pedro Fernando de Quirós*, or unless some happy discovery brings to light the twelve novels mentioned in the prologue to the *Hispálica*, we shall have nothing by which to judge his powers as a prose writer.

The *Aurora de Cristo* printed in Seville in 1616 shows that Luis de Belmonte was there at that time. It is true that the *aprobación* of the poem is dated Madrid, August 17, 1615, and the *Previlegio*, October 1615, but this does not necessarily mean that Belmonte himself was in Madrid in August and October 1615, though, of course, it is quite possible that such was the case.

If the *Hispálica* was finished in 1618, as assumed by D. Santiago de Montoto, then Belmonte must have remained in Seville until 1618. At any rate he was in Madrid in 1620 and 1622, for he took part in the two *certámenes poéticos* of San Isidro celebrated in Madrid in those two years, as well as the one in honor of the canonization of Ignacio Loyola and Francis Xavier in 1622 [1].

Lope de Vega praised Belmonte's verses in the romance he wrote in praise of those who took part in the contest of 1620 [2]. Lope also placed him among those who formed part of his *Jardin Alegórico* (Epistola octava de la Filomena, 1621), saying the following of him :

Resplandece en su fábrica Belmonte.

His presence in Madrid is established also by the *comedia*, *Algunas hazañas de las muchas de Don García Hurtado de Mendoza*, published in Madrid in a single volume in 1622,

1. La Barrera, p. 29.
2. La Barrera, p. 29. Fernandez-Guerra quotes it in his Life of Alarcón and refers to Gallardo under Lope, *Justa Poética*, pp. 47, 74.

and also by his association with eight other playwrights who collaborated in its composition.

In the prologue to the *Hispálica* already quoted, there is mention of the fact that Belmonte wrote *comedias* while in the New World and after his return to Spain. In his preface to *La Aurora de Cristo* (Seville, 1616) quoted above, Belmonte mentions that he is disgusted with playwriting, " que te prometo que estoy enfadado de comedias, porque, como tu lo has visto, parecen bien las de todo punto desatinadas ".

In spite of this remark, most of his plays that have come down to us were, apparently, written after 1616. In fact, of his plays extant there are none which we could definitely say were written before 1622, the date of *Algunas hazañas de las muchas de D. Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza*, etc.

Of the manuscript plays having either a date of writing or of first censorship or licence, several of which are autograph MSS., we find one of the years 1624, 1626, 1634, and 1636, two in 1641, one in 1642, and two in 1645.

As the place of first censorship or licence wherever it appears is Madrid, this may be taken to mean, among other indications, that Luis de Belmonte spent most of the last twenty five or thirty years of his life in the capital.

Juan Pérez de Montalván mentions him in his *Memoria de los que escriben comedias en Castilla solamente* (*Para Todos*, 1632)[1] :

> Luis de Belmonte ha continuado por muchos años el escribirlas y acertarlas, que en él todo es uno, siendo en las veras heróico y en las burlas sazonadísimo.

The next mention of him is found in the account of the *Academia burlesca que se hizo en Buen Retiro a la Magestad de Philipo Quarto El Grande Año de* 1637.

1. La Barrera, p. 29 and *Para Todos*, p. 245, Pamplona edition, p. 545.

Among some of the poets who took part in the *Academia* were Luis Vélez de Guevara, Antonio Coello, Gerónimo Cancer, Don Manuel Antonio de Vargas, Don Antonio de Solis, Luis de Benavente, the great *entremesista*, Don Francisco de Rojas, Don Antonio Martinez (de Meneses), Luis de Belmonte and Juan Navarro de Espinossa, who, as censor, signed some of Belmonte's manuscripts. Morel-Fatio in *L'Espagne au XVI*e *et au XVII*e *siècle*[1] describing this *Academia*, gives some *octavas* of *arte mayor* written by Belmonte in competition with Don Rosete Niño. There are four *octavas* by Belmonte. Underneath his verses we read the following :

A Don Pedro Rosete y a Luis de Belmonte premios yguales. A Luis de Belmonte por mas heroicos versos y a Don Pedro Rosete por mas jocoso estilo.

On page 664 we find :

Luis de Belmonte, poeta apóstol, en calçones de lienco casero, estava pescando consonantes, y, como no tenía cuerda, la pluma que le servía de caña no picava concepto, mas adbirtiendo el mucho gasto y poco provecho, cantó assí :

Poeta de caña
Mas come que gana.

Immediately thereafter appears the name of Juan Navarro de Espinossa who, we believe, knew Belmonte well.

The mention of Luis de Belmonte as *poeta apóstol* may be a reference to his religious poems already mentioned.

It may be well to insert here some words written by this same Don Juan Navarro de Espinossa in his capacity as censor of plays on the last sheet of the manuscript of an inde-

1. Morel-Fatio, *L'Espagne au XVI*e *et au XVII*e *siècle*, Heilbronn, 1878, p. 639.

cent play by Belmonte called *El Acierto en el Engaño* [1]. The licence, signed by Espinossa, is dated 1641, a few years after the *Academia* in which they both took part.

Dase licencia para que se represente esta comedia, con advertencia se le da por tenerla estudiada y haber el autor sinificado su necessidad, sin que otra vez se le admita a él ni a otro ninguna comedia de este género [2].

The last mention we find of Belmonte is the following from Don Gerónimo Cáncer who also took part in the Academia of 1637, in his famous Vejamen, believed to have been written in 1649 [3].

Yo los dexé pasar, por quedarme a ver lo restante del tumulto que ocupava el camino, y apenas me dexaron aquellos, quando se acercaron a mí, embueltos en sudor, y polvo, Don Antonio Martinez, y Luis de Belmonte. Hizome novedad el vellos juntos y Don Antonio Martinez me sacó desta duda con esta redondilla :

Con essa duda me enfadas,
Quien el vernos extrañó ?
Porque siempre hago yo
Con Belmonte las jornadas.

Traía Luis de Belmonte unos calçones muy largos, que casi le llegavan a los tobillos, y díxele, que acortasse de calçones, porque no le embarazassén al manejo de las armas. Y él me respondió : Es un majadero, y no lo entiende, nada llevo yo tan en favor de batalla como los calçones largos, y si no échelo de ver por esta redondilla :

Confiado en mis calçones
Me animo más, y me atrevo
Que para esta guerra llevo
Un tercio más de Valones.

1. MS. Bib. Nac. Madrid, nº 15009.

2. This would also indicate Belmonte's extreme poverty at that time.

3. See La Barrera, p. 29. It was printed in *Obras Varias de Cáncer*, Madrid, 1651. Bib. Nac. Madrid, R. 5731. The above quotation is from folio 57.

As far as we know, there is no mention of Belmonte after this date (1649). Therefore, in the absence of any other proof, it may be inferred that he died about 1650. If he was in his " primeros años " in 1605, we assume with La Barrera that he was born about 1587, which would make him over sixty years old when he died.

Among the playwrights who collaborated with Belmonte in the composition of the single play, *Algunas hazañas de las muchas de Don García Hurtado de Mendoza* (Madrid, 1622), were Mira de Amescua, Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, Luis Vélez de Guevara and Guillén de Castro, but his most important collaborations were with Manuel Antonio de Vargas, Francisco de Rojas, Moreto, Calderón and Don Antonio Martínez de Meneses [1].

1. Mira de Amescua (1574c-1644).
Juan Ruiz de Alarcón (1581c-1639).
Luis Vélez de Guevara (1579-1644).
Guillén de Castro (1569-1631).
Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla (1607-1648).
Don Agustín Moreto y Cavanna (1618-1669).
Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681).

The above are, with the exception of Lope de Vega and Tirso de Molina, the most outstanding dramatists of the time. Manuel Antonio de Vargas who flourished about 1650 is scarcely known as a playwright.

Antonio Martínez de Meneses (1608-1650c) is known chiefly for his collaborations. Belmonte collaborated more frequently with him than with any of the others. See quotation from the *Vejamen de Cáncer* supra (Cf. *Historia de la literatura española*, Hurtado y Palencia (Madrid, 1925) and La Barrera, Cat. *Bib. y Biograf. del Teatro Antiguo Español* (Madrid, 1860).

CHAPTER II

TRAITS AS A DRAMATIST

In order to gauge properly Luis de Belmonte's traits and characteristics as a dramatist, it is necessary first to determine the approximate position which he occupies between Lope de Vega and Calderón.

Belmonte began composing plays as early as 1607 [1], and continued at intervals until about the middle of the century [2].

He collaborated in one play with Ruiz de Alarcón, Guillén de Castro, Mira de Amescua and Vélez de Guevara, all of

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1. There is a direct reference in the prologue to the *Hispálica* to *comedias* written by Belmonte while in Mexico and after his return to Spain. He was in Mexico from 1607 until 1609, the date of the publication of the *Vida del Padre Ig. de Loyola*, and very probably he did not return to Spain immediately after the time mentioned. At any rate we find him in Seville in 1615 and, in the preface of the poem, *La Aurora de Cristo* (Seville, 1616) he remarks as follows :

" Estoy enfadado de comedias, porque como tu lo has visto parecen las de todo punto desatinadas. " The *Aurora de Cristo* is quoted in the prologue to the *Hispálica* as the last of Belmonte's works. It may then be taken as a fact that between 1607 and 1616 Belmonte had written a number of plays, but we do not know how many he wrote during the period nor whether any of those extant were composed between those dates.

2. See *Vejamen de Cáncer* written circa 1649 which refers to Belmonte as a dramatist at that time.

whom belonged to the dramatic school of Lope de Vega, but the majority of his collaborations were with writers of the second period of the Golden Age drama, such as, Calderón, Rojas Zorilla, Moreto and Antonio Martínez de Meneses.

The influence of the second period where it can properly be judged is shown principally in the choice of theme. Spanish national history is used by him only twice [1], whereas *comedias* palaciegas with the scene laid in Poland, Italy, Sicily and even England are common. Vélez de Guevara, however, who, like Belmonte, collaborated with dramatic writers of both periods, differed from the latter in his frequent use of Spanish national history as the theme of his dramas. Vélez, who was born in 1579, was the older of the two and thus had formed his tastes when other fashions prevailed, in fact, plays based on Spanish history had reached their highest point with Lope de Vega and Tirso de Molina, and this type of drama was already on the decline before Belmonte wrote *El Cerco de Sevilla*.

He also resembles Calderón and Calderón's followers in the repeated presentation of the honor theme with the highly conventionalized treatment which it had come to receive.

In the methods used in plot construction Luis de Belmonte was a true disciple of Lope de Vega and his dramatic school. The dramatists of Lope's school, on the whole, were less careful in the working out of a well-ordered plot than those of the period following, too much reliance being placed by the former on improvisation [2].

In many of his plays our author is identified with the later

1. *El Cerco de Sevilla*, 1626. As an historical drama it is very poorly executed, the romantic interest predominating in it. The play exists only in MS. form. *El Sastre del Campillo*, also based on Spanish national history is still more romantic in interest.

2. A. Schaeffer, *Geschichte des Spanischen Nationaldramas*. Leipzig, 1890, vol. I, p. 6.

movement by his use of the *estilo culto*, which, in truth, seems well suited to his temperament.

The type of metrical arrangement employed by him, in most instances, gives Belmonte a position midway between Alarcón and Moreto.

We shall now discuss our author's drama under the following headings : *Plot construction, Humor,* and *Sentiment.*

Plot Construction.

It was unfortunate for Luis de Belmonte that he relied to such an extent on improvisation. Unless the improvisor has the alertness and natural dramatic instinct of a Lope de Vega or a Tirso de Molina, the consequences of his lack of preparation must be serious.

A good instance is *Las Siete Estrellas de Francia*, a religious drama for which Belmonte used Tirso's *El Mayor Desengaño* as a model. The theme is the founding of the Carthusian Order by San Bruno. There is an interesting parallel drawn between the profligate San Bruno who was finally saved and the sanctimonious Dion or Dineo, who, to the astonishment of all, is condemned in final judgment.

Belmonte has Bruno's conversion or withdrawal from life begin in the second act. He places Dineo's condemnation at the end of the same act. With Tirso, Bruno is converted in the beginning of the third act, and Dion's judgment is the great culminating scene of the play. It takes place almost at the very end.

Though *Las Siete Estrellas* is, by no means, an uninteresting piece, it loses much of its dramatic force by having the climax anticipated. Belmonte should have left Dineo's judgment out of the plot entirely, or he should have put it in its proper place at the end. An event of such importance

is sure to dwarf all that follows it, and thus kills the interest for the entire third act. Bruno's retirement from the world should also have been delayed. This is one of the reasons why Tirso's is the stronger drama of the two.

Though Belmonte was capable of creating interesting scenes, he too often failed to comprehend the relative importance of dramatic values.

In *Amor y Honor*, Fernando wins the hand of Blanca, after some very stormy scenes, from a wealthy rival, a marquis. This happens at the end of the second act. Fernando is called away to the wars, and the last act is occupied with the unsuccessful attempts of the marquis against Blanca's honor. The last act offers little interest to the spectator, because the problem with which the play had begun has already been solved.

The *Afanador de Utrera* is a better play, due chiefly to the interest created by the personality of the *Afanador*. Here, as far as the plot is concerned, we have only one problem presented for solution from the very beginning, namely, the wife's honor.

The opening of the play is good[1]. Don Juan attempts to abduct Don Diego's bride, Isabel, on her way home from the wedding ceremony. This design is thwarted by the *Afanador* after a battle royal in the streets of Seville. Isabel reaches her home in safety, but Don Juan tries to force his way into the house where he is confronted by Don Diego who succeeds in wounding him. This occurs at the end of the first act. The second act is taken up with the *Afanador de Utrera*, but the third is occupied with renewed attempts, of course, unsuccessful, by Don Juan against Isabel's honor.

1. Belmonte had the faculty of making a better beginning than an ending. This must have been recognised by his collaborators, as he is usually given the first act to write in the joint productions of *tres ingenios*.

The conclusion at the end of the first act has too much an air of finality to allow a return to the same theme. Besides, the story was interrupted for almost one whole act. The figure of the *Afanador* loses in strength by being given a subordinate role.

El Satisfecho is another drama based on the honor theme. Here we find the marriage an accomplished fact at the beginning and the climax is found in its proper place at the end. Notwithstanding this advantage in conception, the outcome is so obvious and there is such a lack of cumulative force, the climax coming as an afterthought, that its execution is weaker, if anything, than that of the plays just described.

Most of Belmonte's dramas suffer from some serious weakness in construction. Besides anticipation of climax, his plots show generally lack of cohesion, and also contain a large amount of unrelated elements which tend to obscure the issue[1]. These defects are more marked, however, in his *comedias de capa y espada* than they are in the *comedias religiosas* and the *comedias palaciegas*.

Humor.

The *gracioso* is, of course, the main vehicle for the expression of humor in the *comedia*, but there were other comic elements which will also be considered.

In Luis de Belmonte's drama, the *gracioso* is an aspect which has received considerable attention in recent times, owing, mainly, to the important position which this figure

1. These defects explain, perhaps, why, out of a total of some thirty plays, ten of them could be found only in manuscript. Most of these were of the *capa y espada* type and only one was a collaboration.

occupies in the *Diablo Predicador*, a famous religious play, attributed to our author[1].

There is good reason to believe that the jests and buffoonery of Belmonte's *gracioso* were appreciated by the public of his time. Besides the testimony of Montalván that he was in *las burlas sazonadísimo*[2], we have the fact that he was well-known as an *entremesista*[3]. His *entremeses* are good representatives of the *genre* and compare favorably with those of the great Benavente himself. This fact also partly explains the type of humor to be found in Belmonte's *figura del donaire*.

Our author's conception of this figure followed fairly closely the lines laid down by Lope de Vega. In some respects, the resemblance between the two is striking. Lope's Pedros, Limóns and Rodrigos impart more advice to their masters, are more intelligent and discourse more glibly on general subjects than Belmonte's Ostións and Castaños, but their jokes, parodies of their masters' love affairs and their ludicrous antics are very similar. Our author's comic figure is, on the whole, more of a clown than Lope's.

In general, Belmonte's *gracioso* has little of the mordant

1. See *Introduction* by Mesonero Romanos to vol. 45, *Bib. Aut. Esp.*, pp. XXIV and foot-note, p. XXXIX, where he acknowledges having quoted from the second act of the *Príncipe Perseguido* believing that it was by Belmonte, though in reality it was by Moreto, the play being a collaboration as follows : Act I. Belmonte, Act II. Moreto, Act III. Martinez de Meneses. We shall be careful, therefore, to quote from what are considered his authentic plays. The authorship of the *Diablo Predicador*, along with that of other doubtful plays, will be taken up in another chapter.

2. La Barrera. *Cat.*, p. 29 and *Para Todos* (1632), p. 245.

3. *Flor de entremeses y sainetes*, Madrid, 1657 (reprint, Madrid, 1903). The largest number in this collection are by the great Queñones de Benavente, Luis de Belmonte following with the next largest number, five in all, and after him, Vélez de Guevara with four. Belmonte is also represented in the collection, *Entremeses Nuebos*, Zaragoza, 1640.

humor of Tirso's [1], none of the dignity and worldly wisdom of Alarcón's, and he lacks the sprightliness and charm which he displays in Moreto's comedies.

In this connection it is interesting to compare Belmonte's portrayal of the *gracioso* with that of other dramatists, who, in collaborations with our author, add their interpretation of the same comic figure.

Although nine playwrights took part in the composition of *Algunas Hazañas de las muchas de D. Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza*, at least one half of the play is the work of Luis de Belmonte, Ruiz de Alarcón and Guillen de Castro [2]. In it there are two *figuras de donaire.*

Chilindrón, the *gracioso* on the Spanish side, recaptures Coquín, the merry-andrew of the Indians. In this description is found the burlesque humor so often exhibited by Belmonte's *graciosos.*

CHIL. Yo muchos miedos he visto,
Pero no como el de ahora;
Mas ya está echada la suerte;
La traza ha sido famosa
Salvo mejor parecer. *(Ve Coquín a Chil.)*
¡Valedme, Virgen de Atocha,
Que he visto en el bosque un bulto!
COQ. Mucho se mueven las hojas
Para no hacer aire.
CHIL. El cielo
Por su piedad me socorra :
Que aquel indio es añagaza
De los demas que se emboscan;
Pero mientras les avisa,

1. There is a great contrast between the *gracioso* in *Las Siete Estrellas de Francia* by Belmonte and the same figure in *El Mayor Desengaño* by Tirso de Molina. Belmonte's *gracioso* complains more of hunger, but he has none of the latter's sarcastic humor.

2. Madrid, 1622. The passages for which each author is responsible are described in the prologue of the play.

Le pescaré la persona,
Y será bizarro lance;
Dios sobre todo.

COQ. No sopla
Viento tan grande, que pueda
Mover un árbol. ¿Que importa?
Mas que los derribe a todos.
Si; más árboles con botas,
No los he visto jamás.
El miedo causa estas sombras,
Claro está : vuelvo a sentarme.

CHIL. En desplegando la boca
El indio me hacen harina.

COQ. El alma tengo dudosa.
¿ Si fuese lagarto en pie ?

CHIL. ¡ Oh ! noramala lo coma
El señor indio. *(Cae sobre él.)*

COQ. ¿ Eres tigre ?

CHIL. No por cierto.

COQ. ¿ Qué eres ? ¿ Onza ?

CHIL. No, sino adarme.

COQ. ¡Ah español!

CHIL. Gastemos palabras pocas;
Que soy corto de razones,
Y permita que le ponga
Este lazo en las muñecas.
¡Jesús! ¡Válgate la mona!
Tu veniste a ser borracho.
Ea camina.

COQ. Por dos horas
Te ruego que nos sentemos;
Que no es de perder la sombra
Destos plátanos.

CHIL. Ya entiendo.
¿ No es mejor que yo te ponga
Por sombra, colgado al sol ?...

COQ. ¿ Donde, español ?

CHIL. En la horca.

The next scene between Chilindrón and Coquín described by Ruiz de Alarcón shows what aspect of the gracioso's

character Alarcón has chosen to portray. The buffoonery has disappeared to be replaced by a conversation in which the *graciosos* compare the womenfolk of their respective countries. Such treatment is characteristic of Alarcón [1].

Coq. ¿ Oh Chilindrón!
Chil. ¡Oh Coquín!
¿ Como escapaste ?
Coq. Tu yerba
Engañosa me prendió;
Mas supe huyéndome yo,
Aplicar la contrayerba.
Chil. ¡Que gordo estás!
Coq. Es efeto
De mi buena condición.
Pero tu, buen Chilindrón,
Estás flaco.
Chil. Soy discreto,
Y de mil cosas me enfado
Que no puedo remediar.
Coq. Vivir, holgarse y callar
Es alta razón de estado.
¿ Qué te enfada ?
Chil. Tu me enfadas
El primero, porque vienes
Tan gordo, Coquín, que tienes
La cara entre dos almohadas.
. . . . . .
Chil. Dime, Coquín,
¿ Hay acá mujeres bellas ?
Coq. Como el sol.
Chil. ¡Que linda cosa!
Mas, dime, Coquín, ¿ se afeitan ?
Coq. Con agua que dan las fuentes.
¿ Usanlo las de tu tierra ?

1. *Hist. de la lit. esp.* Hurtado y Palencia, p. 688 : " También es nota de Alarcón el carácter especial que dió al gracioso, moderando o refrenando su aspecto bufonesco y limitándole a ser un criado de confianza, con lo cual ganó su teatro en buen gusto y en verosimilitud. "

CHIL. Tanto se afeitan y rizan,
Que no hay una a quien no huela
La cara a perro mojado,
Y a ratones la cabeza.
COQ. ¡Que malo!
CHIL. Una vez, saliendo
De retozar una dueña,
Me encontró un amigo, y dijo :
« Chilindrón, ¿ qué es lo que llevas,
Que vas mortal ? » Y fué el caso,
Coquín, que de un beso apenas
Que di a la dueña, quedé
Con la boca cenicienta.
COQ. Eso es cubrirse la cara.
CHIL. Pues no es, a fe, de verguenza.
Mas ¿ usan acá chapines ?
COQ. No.
CHIL. Serán muy andariegas.
COQ. Pues ¿ por qué ?
CHIL. Porque en España,
Solo porque no lo sean,
Los hemos puesto chapines
Y faldas : y no hay quien tenga
Una mujer en su casa
Y mas si hay comedia nueva.

Guillen de Castro, on the other hand, a true follower of Lope de Vega, depicts the Spanish and Indian comic figures in almost precisely the same manner as Luis de Belmonte. The tables are turned, this time Chilindrón, a prisoner of the Indians, must endure Coquín's threats and abuse.

CHIL. ¡Ba, ba, ba!...
COQ. ¿ Qué decís ? qué ?
¿ Diréisme cuanto os pregunto ?
CHIL. ¡Ba, ba, ba!...
COQ. Decildo al punto,
O la tripa os sacaré,
Con más sangre en esta toca
Que lleva vino una pipa,

Porque digáis con la tripa
Lo que negáis con la boca.
Iré tirando y midiendo
Cuantas varas de Cambray
Os cupieron; muchas hay.
Una, dos... ya van saliendo...
Tres, cuatro, cinco... Quedado
Se habrán algunas, sí, sí;
Porque entonces más metí
De las que agora he sacado.
CHIL. ¡Señor Coquín! estas mañas
Tiene ? Mire...
COQ. ¡Picarote!
¿ No apretastes el garrote ?
Pues vomitad los entrañas.
Decid, decid lo que espero
Saber de vos.
CHIL. Sí diré.
COQ. Decid, acabad.
CHIL. No sé
Qué decir; fingirlo quiero.
COQ. ¿ Vos no fuisteis yerba ?
CHIL. Yo
Soy un zonzo.
COQ. Yo a pesar
Vuestro, tengo de ahorcar
La yerba que me engañó.
Decid.

In *El Principe Perseguido*, also a joint production, the *gracioso* in Moreto's hands possesses far more comic force than he does in the hands of either of the two other collaborators, Belmonte and Martínez de Meneses [1].

There is greater similarity between Belmonte's and Rojas'

1. See note I, p. 21. Mesonero Romanos chose the most entertaining act in the play as proof of Belmonte's humor, only to find later that this was composed by Moreto, who has sometimes been called the Spanish Plautus. Vide *Hist. de la lit. esp.* Hurtado y Palencia (Madrid, 1925), p. 734.

handling of the ever-hungry Bonete in the first and second acts of *El Mejor Amigo el Muerto* than there is in Calderón's portrayal of the same character in the third act of that play [1]. Rojas' handling shows more variety, however, than Belmonte's.

In an essay on the *figura del donaire* in Lope de Vega's drama, José F. Montesinos lays stress on the contrast which is offered in the *comedia* between the low station of the *gracioso* and the noble blood of his master [2].

This contrast not only gives rise to ludicrous situations, but it serves also to emphasise the nobility of the hero. The latter's love for his lady, his intrepidity, idealism and refined manners are counterbalanced by the *gracioso's* attraction for the lady's maid, by his coarse language and jests, overcautiousness and vulgarity.

The following are some examples of the parodies of the master's love among Belmonte's *graciosos*. While engaged in their master's business, they do not neglect to look out for a *buena moza* for themselves.

Tifeo, the servant of Anthony, is about to leave Cleopatra's presence when his attention is attracted by her serving-girl, Silvia [3].

TIFEO. Y guárdense desta moça
los aguados cocodrilos,
que basta para matallos,
mirallos de hito en hito.
SILVIA. Ha hablado conmigo el romo.
TIFEO. Soy Romano, muy bien dixo,
abrevió de letras, ea,
que si yo por lo rolliço

1. In fact, the *gracioso* is generally less of a buffoon with Calderón than he is with Rojas or Belmonte.

2. *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal*, vol. I, p. 469. *La figura del donaire en el teatro de Lope de Vega.*

3. *Los Tres Señores del Mundo.*

tu por lo agudo, haremos
un bravo ingerto de priscos.

In the *Hortelano de Tordesillas* we have the interesting situation of two servants of the same master contending for the favor of the lady's maid-in-waiting. Just as the hero triumphs over a villainous rival for the hand of his lady, Martin, who is always faithful to his master, is preferred by the maid to the treacherous Pedro.

In the *Acierto en el Engaño,* a play which contains some indelicate scenes, Corambre makes the following pun on the name of the heroine. Clara :

CORAMBRE. Soy serviente de Don Luís
que por amor o por tema
de esa clara será yema
de esa agua será anís.

Both Belmonte and Lope de Vega are very fond of puns. Compare the above with the following from Lope's *Amar sin saber a quien :*

LIMÓN. Que ya se fuese deseaba
D. JUAN. ¿ Como ?
LIMÓN. Otra dicha tenemos
la dicha Inés.

In the same play by Lope, Limón asks :

LIMÓN. Y yo ¿ qué soy ?
INÉS. Si tenemos
amistad, serás Limón
de amor con agrio de celos.

But the most striking case of similarity between the two is the following :

INÉS. Tu nombre ?
LIMÓN. Suélese dar
en Castilla.
INÉS. ¿ Qué es ?

LIMON. Limón
INÉS. ¿ Agrio ?
LIMON. Dulce en ocasión.
(Amar sin saber a quien.)

In the play by Belmonte, *El Desposado por fuerza*, the name of the *gracioso* is Castaño. He asks Alexandra (who is not the maid, however), to tell him her name, which she refuses to do until she knows his. She finally guesses it.

ALEXANDRA. Tu nombre será bastante
para dezirte quien soy.
CASTAÑO. En los montes suele hallarse
ALEXANDRA. Acaso llámaste palma ?
CASTAÑO. Pues quiere pedirme dátiles ?
fruta más bruta es la mía
y suelen porque no falte
mordella, echarla al fuego.
ALEXANDRA. Castaño, que nuevas traes
de tu señor ?
CASTAÑO. Que ya viene, etc.

If the hero is bold and daring, the *gracioso* is timid and prudent. In fact, the latter's cowardice is one of his assets [1]. It is true that Martin in *El Hortelano de Tordesillas* tells his master that he would die for him if it were necessary, but, aside from the fact that there are no other similar cases in Belmonte's drama, such abnegation would come rather under the head of devotion than of bravery.

His philosophy is in keeping with the old adage, " Who

1. *La figure del donaire en el teatro de Lope de Vega.* José F. Montesinos, *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal*, vol. I, p. 475. " El gracioso es cobarde, no puede menos de serlo y su pusilanimidad uno de sus mas importantes aspectos cómicos.

Pero la bravura noble no alardea... La fanfarronería es propia del lacayo. En un encuentro en que se trata de defender a un hombre cobardemente atacado, el caballero dirá: " A vuestro lado tenéis dos hombres. " Pero es el gracioso a quien toca añadir : " Y dos Roldanes. "

does not fight, but runs away, will live to fight another day ". In the *Afanador de Utrera*, Martin remarks that one should not waste bravery but always save it for a better occasion.

AFANADOR. Estimo
tu valor, mas si escuchavas
lo que los dos me dixeron
como no hablaste palabra ?
MARTIN. Porque en pendencias agenas
hace muy mal el que gasta
su cólera que no sabe
si se ofrecerá mañana
en que la aya menester;
y assí como tu callavas
no quise gastar la mía
hasta que a mi agraviaran;
demás que siempre procuro
reñir en la retaguardia,
que soy valiente tardio.

Gonzalo, the *gracioso* in the *Conde de Fuentes*, is a braggart. He thus descibes his part in the bloody defeat of Alcazar-Quivir in which the ill-starred King Sebastian of Portugal was killed :

GONZALO. Voy al caso
Digo que en la Berbería
me hallé con el malogrado
Rey Sebastián y tan cerca
que a mis ojos le mataron
mas vengo tan bien su vida
que a ser Bernardo de Carpio
ni siete no resistieran
la alarbe furia con tanto
valor pero si el tomara
mi consejo en aquel paso
que le dixe Dios lo sabe
viéndole a pie peleando
Si el caballo vos an muerto
subid Rey en mi caballo

que aunque no tenía
pude pedillo prestado
mas cerróse la campaña
murió y yo pasé de largo
haciendo bravo destroço
mas la sangre y el cansancio
me rendieron quedé preso
hasta que me rescataron
Viniendo también conmigo
Don Enrique de Alencastro
cierto camarada mío.

SOLDADO. Que hablador es el soldado.

" Si el caballo vos an muerto subid Rey en mi caballo " is the title of a play by Vélez de Guevara who also wrote another, entitled, *El Rey Sebastián.*

It is characteristic of Belmonte to pun on the names of well-known plays. In the *Principe Villano* Perejil makes a play on the title *Don Gil de las Calzas verdes,* and in *Darles con la entretenida o García Paredes Sansón de Estremadura* there is a pun on *Las Paredes Oyen :*

OSTION. Oyeme por Dios, te ruego :
tambien las paredes oyen.

In contrast to the hero's high idealism are the *gracioso's* materialism and vulgarity. Some good comic effects are produced in this way.

After the battle which the Conde de Fuentes has fought against the English, Gonzalo takes from the corpse of an English captain a fine jacket *(jubón)* but is greatly frightened when some English soldiers return in search of their officer's body in order to give it fitting burial at sea. Gonzalo now wishes that he had never thought of the jacket : " Mal haya el hombre que en jubones fía [1]. "

1. Note here the pun on the refrain of Tisbea in the *Burlador de Sevilla,* " Mal haya la mujer que en hombre fía. "

A fresh attack by the Spanish and Portuguese causes the English to leave Gonzalo who rises to his feet, only to be taken for one of the enemy by his own countrymen :

BIMIOJO. Vivo está el inglés.
LOPE. Pues muera.
CONDE. Quien eres ?
GONZALO. Gonzalo Draque.
ALENCAST. Es mi criado señor
Así un español se ultraxa!

One of the most familiar features of the *comedia* is the *gracioso's* hunger. Reference has already been made to Bonete of *El Mejor Amigo el Muerto*, who goes starving through the first two-thirds of the play (by Belmonte and Rojas), until Calderón is kind enough to feed him in the third act.

The miserable Beltrán of *Las Siete Estrellas de Francia* has been abandoned by his master (San) Bruno to starve in Paris :

REY. Quién eres ?
BELT. Soy un lacayo
Eclesiástico.
REY. ¿ A quien sirves ?
BELT. Sirvo a un eterno embaraco
del estómago, tan limpio,
que haziendo pruebas de hidalgo
ay informacion de abono
en todos los quatro quartos.
Avrá un año que le sirvo
corriendo plaça de galgo,
El en Roma, yo en Paris,
harto os he dicho sin harto.

In fact, Beltran is so gross as to think of food at the supreme moment of the consecration of the temple in the forest, and he asks : " En esta casa hay cocina[1] ? "

1. Fray Antolín, the *gracioso* of the *Diablo Predicador*, was always thinking of his stomach.

Apart from providing amusement, the *gracioso* was used by Belmonte, as well as other dramatic writers, in various ways. He helps to patch up quarrels [1], and contrives to prevent the impending duel from taking place [2]; he carries messages for all parties [3], and is often used to save the situation from becoming too tragic.

One of the *gracioso's* important functions is that of a *coronista* or reporter. One instance has already been noted in the long boastful speech of Gonzalo of the *Conde de Fuentes*.

In *El Cerco de Sevilla*, Buitrón, who has just recounted at length the naval battle in which Celaura's father was killed, comes very near to being beheaded by the Moorish king for being a bearer of evil tidings :

REY. O! vil cristiano
Nunca a mis puertos llegaras
BUITRÓN. Aquí yace un aorcado
por dañoso coronista [4].

The *gracioso*, however, is not the sole medium for the expression of humor in the *comedia*. Comic situations arise continually in which both the principals and the secondary characters take part.

Such instances are not lacking in Belmonte's dramas. The following are sufficiently typical to give a fair idea of this side of our author's humor. In these cases one also finds a certain amount of character portrayal.

In the first act of *El Mejor Amigo el Muerto*, Clarinda, the princess of England, disliking intensely Roberto of Ire-

1. *El Satisfecho* and *El Sastre del Campillo*.
2. *Casarse sin hablarse*.
3. *Los Tres Señores del Mundo*, *El Acierto en el Engaño*.
4. In the poem *La Hispálica* by Belmonte and from which he made the play, the same character, a Greek Christian, was, in fact, executed.

land whom she is expected to marry, is overjoyed to hear of his death by drowning. She has not yet found out that the report of his death is false, when King Roberto's arrival is announced. Believing that they refer to his corpse, she proclaims in a very solemn manner that England would know how to honor Ireland's dead. Her joy, however, quickly gives place to chagrin and disappointment when she learns the truth.

There is an interesting scene between Doña Leonor and Doña Juana in the *Conde de Fuentes*. The fickle Conde de Bimiojo who is loved by Doña Juana, has tried, in vain, to force his unwelcome attentions upon Doña Leonor, who loves a certain Alencastro. Doña Juana who believes that Doña Leonor is to blame for what has happened, comes to the latter's house in a jealous rage to have matters out with her. Belmonte puts into this passage some humor and a certain amount of realism. The angry Doña Juana is an easy mark for Doña Leonor's sarcasm.

JUANA. Mi injuria quiero deciros
pues vengo a castigalla.
LEONOR. Y yo me pondré a escuchalla
quizá para desmentiros.
JUANA. ¿ A mí ?
LEONOR. A vos.
YNES. Señoras mías
paso por amor de Dios
que pienso que hablan las dos
por almas de chirimías.
JUANA. Ay quién nos pueda aquí oir ?
LEONOR. Solamente esta criada
JUANA. Criada tambien mandada
poco nos puede impedir
que su puesto que es forçoso
que vuestros pasos entiendo
no ay por que de ella me ofenda.
En el conde de Bimiojo

puse con honesto amor
los deseos.

LEONOR. Y qué más por vida mía ?

JUANA. Yo jamás hago público
el favor
basta decir que le quiero
ya quien por causarme enojos
pone en el conde los ojos

LEONOR. Dar satisfacion espero
a vuestro enojo cruel
y los ojos cosa es clara
que los míos sacara
por no ponellos en él
pero de vuestros desvelos
ay tan poco que temer
que le quisiera querer
por castigaros a celos
amante desvanecido.

From what has been said, it is, we believe, sufficiently demonstrated that, though Luis de Belmonte was distinguished by little wit of the more brilliant kind, he could be relied upon for a substantial supply of clownish antics, vulgar jests and ready puns, qualities which could not be ignored entirely by a drama which owed its existence to the approval of the populace.

Sentiment.

Belmonte's qualities as a dramatist have shown to best advantage in those plays in which the interest is largely sentimental [1].

1. Montalván also excelled in sentimental scenes, and this perhaps accounted for his admiration for Belmonte, for he says of the latter in *Para Todos* that our author was " en las veras heroico ". See p. 15. Also cf. *Hist. de lit. esp.* Hurtado y Palencia, Madrid, 1925, p. 698.

Two of the most typical examples are *En riesgos luce el amor* and *El Principe Villano.*

In *En Riesgos luce el amor* Sigismundo, the hero, leads the Hungarian forces victoriously against the Turks. His success and bravery capture the heart of the princess who falls hopelessly in love with him, although he is of humble origin, and she has been betrothed by her father to a foreign prince. To complicate matters further, Alfredo, the *privado* of the king, being himself in love with the princess, does all in his power to oppose Sigismundo. With the aid of a confederate, Alfredo finally succeeds in having Sigismundo imprisoned and later banished. The princess remains steadfast in her devotion to her hero but she is incapable of securing his restoration to favor. However, a fresh outbreak of the Turks occurs, and, on the demand of the peasants, Sigismundo is again placed in command of the army. He inflicts an overwhelmong defeat on the enemy, is restored to favor, and the hand of the princess is bestowed upon him as a reward. He nobly pardons Alfredo who has attempted to assassinate him in his tent during the campaign against the Turks.

Here we see combined all the circumstances calculated to keep alive the interest in the princess' love for Sigismundo. Unfortunately the best scene occurs at the end of the first act, and the main issue is somewhat obscured by too much incident.

The scene referred to is interesting in that it offers a good example of our author's sentimental muse.

INFANTA. Quién sabe que el Fenix muere
para volver a vivir,
fácil es de persuadir
que más juventud adquiere.
Fenix es mi dulce amor,
de roxas plumas vestido,

mi pecho el caliente nido,
como su alvergue mejor.
No más hermoso en aromas,
blando incendio de sus alas,
leves pavones de Palas,
y de Venus las palomas;
que si en ardiente crisol
soberbio el de Arabia vive
el de mi pecho percibe
fuego a Chipre, y luz al Sol.
Todo es fuego quanto siento,
que tal vez suspiros míos
lucharon dexando fríos
rayos del Sol en el viento.
Mi padre no porque entienda
que eres mi dueño, y señor
quiere que muera mi amor
sin que al rigor me defienda;
y con pensamiento ciego,
porque no quede memoria
de nuestra amorosa historia,
quiere que le abrase el fuego.
Pero amor, quando a tus ojos
muere entre elada ceniza,
su juventud eterniza,
sobre monumentos rojos.
Juntando ausentes enfados
del Escocés pretensor,
los aplica ya mi amor
para senos abrasados.
Y assí al incendio que aguardo,
engañado dueño mío,
se arroja amor con más brío,
para renacer gallardo.
Y puedes creer, señor,
que el alma a este fuego asida,
dexará perder la vida
antes que me falte amor.

SIGISMUNDO. Déxame besar, señora,
el suelo que honrando estás.

INFANTA. Más decansado estarás
en braços de quien te adora;
que pues el alma te dí,
mal te los podré negar.
SIGISMUNDO. Podré en ellos esperar
mi suerte dichosa ?
INFANTA. Sí. *(Abraçanse y sale Arnesto* [1]*.)*

El Príncipe Villano is one of our author's most successful plays and offers, on the whole, the best illustration of his powers in the portrayal of tender passion. The instances of *culteranismo* exhibited in some of the long passages, do not, in our opinion, in any way spoil the impression the poet wished to produce. Schaeffer, following the judgment of Mesonero Romanos, prefers *El Afanador de Utrera*, which he correctly denominates a play of the *valiente* type, to the *Príncipe Villano*, characterising the latter as an outstanding example of *culteranismo*, and, for this reason, places it among Belmonte's later productions [2].

It is doubtful that this preference would have been justified by the opinion of the Spanish public of the time and later [3].

The *príncipe villano* or Belisardo has been brought up as a peasant. The Princess Margarita, when out hunting, has often stopped to converse with him, and, without realising

1. This passage recalls a similar one in Pérez de Montalván's well-known drama, *No hay vida como la honra*. Leonor has assured Don Carlos of her love for him.

D. CARLOS Solo quisiera
Poder besarte los pies.
LEONOR Las manos están más cerca.

2. Vide A. Schaeffer, *Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas*. Leipzig, 1890, vol. I, pp. 430-431.

3. The *Afanador de Utrera* was printed first in 1654, and twice after that, as far as we have been able to find, whereas the *Príncipe Villano* was printed seven times altogether, the first impression being in 1652.

it, has begun to fall in love with him. Belisardo, who, from the first day had become enamoured of the Princess, decides to go to court. There he saves Margarita from a lion which has escaped from its cage. For this brave deed, the King of Poland, father of the Princess, allows Belisardo to serve in the court. The Princess has been betrothed by her father to Vencislao, the Prince of Denmark, who has arrived in Poland, but not before she has admitted her love to Belisardo. The latter is committed to the tower, accused of murdering the Prince of Poland. In reality, Vencislao is guilty of the crime. Hearing of his imprisonment, the old peasant with whom Belisardo had lived, comes to court and informs the King that Belisardo is the brother of Vencislao, the Prince of Denmark. The latter, thereupon, confesses his guilt and escapes punishment by proving that he acted in self-defense. Belisardo is married to the Princess and Vencislao to Rosaura a lady of the court.

This play abounds in amorous passages, and the Princess' increasing passion for Belisardo, whom she takes to be a peasant is well described. The culminating point of the plot, that is, Belisardo's incarceration in the tower, is not reached until the third act. Belmonte has handled the prison scene with skill, and has, at the same time, given us some pretty poetry.

(Sale Belisardo en la torre, con cadena al pié.)

BEL. Estrella luciente, y bella
de tantas desdichas guía,
tu que dexas de ser mía,
por ser solamente estrella,
Donde tu curso atropella
con tanta riguridad
la firmeza en la lealtad,
de un pecho que es tan diamante
si eres, fixa como errante ?

si errante, como deidad ?

. . . . . .

Sentarme quiero a escrivir

(Ay un bufete donde se sentará a escrivir.)

por aplacar el dolor
no sé si diré mi amor
por más que pueda sentir.
Poco sabe de morir
quien en amar no porfía;
(Toma la pluma en la mano.)
pluma ya que tu osadía
sale a luz, teme tu muerte;
comienço pues de esta suerte

(Escrive.)

Infanta del alma mía *(Cessa.)*
Mal he escrito, ya me pesa
deste azar, Princesa es ya,
más assí se enmendará; *(Escrive.)*
digo adorada Princesa; *(Cessa.)*
de atrevido me condena
la turbación de mis manos; *(Escrive.)*
cuyos soles soberanos
idolatro pena a pena. *(Cessa.)*
Pero el sueño me conbida,
al paso que me divierte,
pues es tan dura muerte,
paréntesis de mi vida.
A recostarme empeño,
fatigado en este braço,
sueño si eres embarazo,
no te desvelo, no, sueño.

(Hechase en su braço sobre el de la silla, y sale la Infanta.)

Other plays by Belmonte exhibit many of the same characteristics as those of the two plays just discussed [1].

1. *El Mejor Tutor es Dios. El Hortelano de Tordesillas. Las Trabajos de Ulises* and *Casarse sin Hablarse.*

Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez belongs to the transition period of the Golden Age drama. His dramatic productivity was so sporadic, and extended over such a long period of time, that he did not succeed in developing a fixed style of his own.

With few exceptions, his plays show extremely faulty structure. However, many isolated scenes are skillfully handled. He was capable of presenting vividly a single dramatic episode or piece of dialogue, but he generally lacked the ability to fit them in suitably with the other parts of the play. Pérez de Montalván and Rojas Zorrilla both showed weakness in plot structure, and, like Belmonte, also belonged to the transition period, but in them, the aforesaid weakness was counterbalanced by a superior dramatic sense[1].

Belmonte's poetry which shows marked evidences of the *estilo culto* is often melodious and sonorous. It also possesses considerable lyric quality in the expression of emotional themes.

Owing to the fact that the *Diablo Predicador*, a famous religious play which has been attributed to our author, is superior to its model, the *Fray Diablo* of Lope de Vega in humor and the portrayal of tender sentiment, we have stressed this aspect in our examination of Belmonte's drama. Belmonte undoubtedly possessed these characteristics.

On the other hand, his dramatic technique is generally so poor, even in the case of a *refundición*, that, unless better proof is forthcoming than that based on mere similarity in style, we shall be compelled to leave the *Diablo Predicador* out of account in making our judgment of the place which

1. See *Rev. Hisp.*, vol. 26, p. 56. J. Pérez de Montalván by G. W. Bacon. Hurtado, *Hist. de la lit. esp.*, p. 731. See also Mesonero Romanos, *Introduction* to *Comedias Escogidas de D. Fran. de Rojas Zorrilla*, *Bib. Aut. Esp.*, vol. 54, p. XVIII.

Luis de Belmonte should occupy in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age. In that case he would keep the place accorded to him by modern critics, namely, among the dramatists of the third rank[1].

1. See A. Schaeffer, *Geschichte des Spanischen Nationaldramas*, p. 434. Hurtado y Palencia, *Hist. de la lit. esp.*, Madrid, 1925, p. 281.

CHAPTER III

RÉSUMÉ OF THE PLOTS

AUTHENTIC PLAYS

Comedias de capa y espada.

El acierto en el engaño y robador de su honrra.

Espera traydor espera
Aguarda cobarde ingrato
. . . . . .
del robador de su honrra
nuestras faltas perdonando [1].

(Bib. Nac. Madrid. MS. No. 15009.)

Act I.

Elvira, the maid, has allowed Don Luis to enter the room of her mistress, Doña Clara, at night. In his great haste, Don Luis leaves his cloak behind. Doña Clara arouses the house, shouting that a man has been in her room. Her father, on seeing her dishevelled condition, tells her he knows that the worst has happened, that she has lost her honor. He

1. The first and last lines of each play are given in each case.

remarks that the marriage which he has arranged with a certain Don Luis must take place as soon as possible.

The cloak which was left, however, belongs to Don Juan, a rejected suitor of Clara's, who is now paying court to her friend, Leonor. In her great trouble, Clara sends for Leonor, who comes accompanied by Don Luis, her brother, the latter remaining hidden so that he can see and hear everything. Don Luis goes away, greatly struck by Clara's beauty, but much perplexed by what he has seen and heard.

When Don Juan arrives, Clara requests Leonor to speak to him for her. He declares that it is all a terrible mistake, but Elvira, the maid, brings in a note from Clara which Leonor reads aloud to Don Juan. In it he is accused of having entered Clara's room under cover of darkness, the proof being his cloak which he left behind. Don Juan suddenly remembers that, in the confusion of a quarrel at the inn, he had exchanged cloaks with someone else. Leonor will not believe in his innocence, and he is in great despair, finding that he must suffer for the sin of another.

Act II.

Clara is surprised to hear that Don Juan had so vigorously protested his innocence. She is presented by her father to Don Luis whom she is expected to marry. Both, however, have their reasons for not wishing the marriage to take place at once, Don Luis, because he believes that another has enjoyed her favor, and Clara, because she wishes to know for certain who the man was who had stolen her honor.

Don Juan explains to his servant that after Clara had rejected him, he had found complete happiness in Leonor's love, but, to his great surprise, Elvira, Clara's maid, had come to him and offered to admit him to her mistress' room at night. He also tells of the fight in which someone had taken

his cloak by mistake. He says that this person, whoever he was, must have deceived the maid by the cloak he was wearing, and thus entered Clara's room. By the time Don Juan reached Clara's house, the whole household was aroused.

While they are talking, Clara approaches with her maid, both heavily veiled, and later, Leonor and her maid, also veiled arrive. Taking Clara for Leonor, Don Juan makes an avowal of his love for her. At this, Leonor removes her veil, saying that all is over between them. Clara also uncovers her face, and accuses Don Juan of being the author of her dishonor.

The act ends by Don Juan challenging Don Luis, who has appeared on the scene, to a duel.

Act III.

It turns out that the duel was prevented. Doña Clara has decided to send for Don Luis and make full confession of all that has happened. After many interrupted attempts, she finally succeeds in telling him everything. It now dawns upon Don Luis that he himself had been guilty of stealing his intended bride's honor, and that the maid had admitted him because he was wearing Don Juan's cloak. He seeks out the wicked maid, Elvira, who, at the point of a dagger, confesses her guilt, thus absolving her mistress.

Elvira repeats her confession in the presence of the others, and everyone is forgiven. All ends happily with the betrothal of Don Juan to Leonor, and Don Luis to Clara.

El Afanador de Utrera.

LOP. Que tenéis Don Juan ?
JUAN. Amor.

Lop. Es amor desatinado.

. . . . . .

Af. Donde con pluma grossera
si bien dura su memoria
veis un rasgo de historia
de Afanador el de Utrera.

(Tomo 32, *Comedias escogidas se los mejores ingenios de España.* Madrid, 1669, p. 402. Bib. Nac. Madrid. No. 22654-701.)

Act I.

The Afanador de Utrera and Martin learn that Don Juan intends to abduct Don Diego's bride, Isabel, on the way home from the wedding ceremony. Pretending to be one of Don Juan's helpers, the Afanador gives the signal for the assault after the bride and her escort have passed in safety, and thus thwarts the sinister scheme.

Don Juan is so furious at this intervention that he wishes to take vengeance on the Afanador with his own hands. The Afanador bids him follow him to a place where they may fight undisturbed. They come to Isabel's house and Don Juan enters to be confronted by Don Diego who engages him in a duel and wounds him. The bailiff arrives just as Don Juan falls, but refrains from interfering when he finds out that it was an affair of honor. These events take place in Seville.

Act II.

The scene shifts to Utrera where the Afanador is in his own home talking to Martin. While they are thus engaged, two ruffianly-looking soldiers approach and ask in a very discourteous manner for food and lodging. The Afanador, who succeeds with difficulty in controlling his temper, replies that he never refuses hospitality to any one. The soldiers, thereupon, go into the kitchen.

At this point Martin remarks to his master that he should not have permitted their insults to go unpunished. The Afanador then asks Martin why he said nothing while they were insulting him. Martin answers that it is not his habit to mix in others' quarrels, and, that besides, he always saved his anger for a better occasion.

The soldiers now reappear, inquiring gruffly where they were expected to sleep. Beside himself with rage, the Afanador tells them to go and sleep in the stable. At this the soldiers draw their swords and attack him. Their captain who has approached joins in the affray, but he calls off his men when he sees how bravely the Afanador defends himself. In the meantime, Don Diego comes to the latter's assistance, and peace is finally made.

Don Diego informs the Afanador that Don Juan whose wounds were now healed, was still persisting in his attentions to Isabel, and that, therefore, he, Don Diego, stood in need of the Afanador's services. Don Diego had begun to be suspicious of Isabel.

The scene shifts again to Seville, where the Afanador, in the role of an eavesdropper, hears Isabel declare to Don Juan that she will ever remain faithful to her husband. In fact, Isabel hopes that Don Juan will marry her sister, Clara, who is enamoured of him.

The act ends with the Afanador vowing that he will do all in his power to clear up Don Diego's doubts and suspicions concerning his wife.

Act III.

This act opens with the Afanador and Martin at an inn in a small town. The Afanador becomes so enraged at the niggardly treatment received from the innkeeper, that he hurls a plate at him. The *corregidor* is called upon the scene,

but, when he sees the brave attitude which the Afanador assumes towards his *alguaciles*, he sends the latter away. The Afanador now relates to the *corregidor* the story of his life, which is that of a redresser of wrongs. His hatred of acts of injustice gets him into many difficulties. In fact, he has just killed two bullies who were destroying a garden. He explains also that he is urgently needed in Seville to defend Isabel, who turns out to be the niece of the *corregidor*, against suspicion and calumny.

Thereupon, he is pardoned and is given a horse and a hundred *escudos*.

When the Afanador reaches Seville, he is joined by Don Diego and both proceed to Isabel's house. Don Diego is now prepared to avenge himself on the treacherous Don Juan whom he finds at his wife's home. While the house is in darkness, Don Diego hears Isabel cry out against Don Juan who has attempted to embrace her. She declares that her honor belongs to her husband only. The latter now determines to kill Don Juan when Clara announces that he is her betrothed. The statement is confirmed by Don Juan himself, who adds that Isabel's virtue is without stain.

Amor y honor.

ISABEL. Hasta donde ha de llegar,
hermana tu llanto injusto ?
. . . . . .
MARG. Soy vuestro esposo
ISAB. Y yo vuestra.
FERN. Y sea la historia nuestra,
respeto, honor, y valor.

(*Comedias famosas de los mejores ingenios de España*, decicadas al Señor Doctor Don Francisco Ramos del Macano. En Madrid. En la Imprenta Real, Año 1652. A costa de Antonio de Ribero, Mercader de Libros. Tomo II. Bib. Nac. Madrid. R 22654-701.)

Act I.

Doña Blanca, who loves Fernando, a brave young soldier just returned from the wars in Flanders, has been promised by her father, García, in marriage to a marquis. Blanca's sister, Isabel, loves the Marquis, and earnestly desires that the marriage shall not take place. Fernando promises Blanca, first, to delay her wedding, and next, to prevent it altogether. Blanca consents to Fernando's proposal, on condition that he do nothing which could compromise her honor. On hearing the Marquis remark that his happiness is marred by fear of arrest from a certain judge, Don Diego by name, Blanca, in the presence of Fernando says that she would rather die than have the Marquis taken away from her. This show of affection encourages the latter, and rouses Fernando's jealousy.

The Marquis despatches his servant, Ramos, in search of the judge, with orders to induce the latter to postpone his visit, but Ramos returns without having succeeded in finding Don Diego. The servant, thereupon, informs García (the father) of the cause of the Marquis' worry. He and the latter were enticed one night into a certain house, on entering which they saw a beautiful girl asleep on a bed. The Marquis attempted to kiss the girl, whereupon she cried out, and the room immediately filled with people. He and his master made their escape with difficulty, and it is on account of this escapade that the Marquis expects Don Diego.

While they are talking, Fernando enters, saying that he has just seen Don Diego approaching the house, but that if the Marquis will follow him, he will conduct him to a place of safety.

Act II.

On arriving at the spot chosen by Fernando, the Marquis asks him rudely what his intentions are in having brought him to such a remote spot. He also asks him to explain why the horses were left behind. Fernando takes umbrage at this, and draws his sword, telling the Marquis that he had brought him there in order to fight a duel with him, the motive of which is his love for Blanca whom the Marquis is about to marry.

Don García comes on the scene and attempts to stop the duel. He declares that any daughter of his who marries Fernando will be disinherited, and Fernando replies that his daughters have nothing to do with the matter, but that he is defending the honor of the girl whom the Marquis attempted to kiss, as she is a young lady of spotless reputation and a near relative of his. The duel is about to be resumed when Don Diego appears and arrests the Marquis, promising Don García that he shall be liberated that night so that he may be married to Blanca.

The next scene takes place at night before Blanca's and Isabel's house. Don Pedro, a love-lorn suitor of Isabel, is present with Fernando whom he has promised to help. Isabel, in addressing Don Pedro, tells him that the Marquis holds the key to her heart, and Fernando, thinking that it is Blanca's voice that he hears, gives himself up to despair. He sees his mistake as Blanca appears presently and tells him that he must do something quickly to prevent her marriage to the Marquis. They decide that the best plan will be to go to her father and confess the truth.

They find Don García and tell him. When he recovers from the shock which the news causes him, he decides to put an end to the conflict by consenting to their union. He,

thereupon, calls the whole household before him as witness to Blanca's betrothal to Fernando. Don García tells the Marquis that he did not wish to give him his daughter while she loved another man, adding, as a palliative, that, should the Marquis succeed in killing Fernando, he should then be free to give him Blanca's hand.

Now, strangely enough, in spite of Don García's plain speech, Isabel tells the Marquis that her sister has been forced into marriage to Fernando by her father, but that Blanca really loves him, the Marquis. She also adds, that if he continues to visit the house, she will give him an opportunity to enjoy Blanca's favors. Isabel's motive, of course, is to win the rejected suitor for herself.

A message has arrived from the king requiring the services of García's son-in-law in a military campaign. Fernando, being now the son-in-law, has to leave in answer to the king's summons. He takes leave of Blanca, who swears everlasting fidelity to him.

Act III.

A long time has elapsed, and, in spite of receiving no encouragement whatsoever from Blanca, the Marquis has not given up hope of finally winning her favor. Isabel, in the furtherance of her own plans, has constantly urged him to persist. Don Pedro meets Blanca and her sister Isabel, and, taking Blanca aside, asks her to intercede for him with Isabel. The Marquis sees him speaking to Blanca, and later tells him that Blanca belongs to him as he has already received favors from her. Don Pedro replies that he is not paying court to Fernando's wife, and that, furthermore, he now feels duty bound to inform Fernando on his return that his wife has been unfaithful to him.

The Marquis attempts in vain to bribe the servants of the

house. Even Don Diego, the judge, tells him that he will fail in his cowardly attempt. Finally, he despatches Ramos to the house to arrange a meeting with Blanca for that night. Ramos returns, saying that Blanca refused to see him, but that Isabel said that Blanca was expecting him that night. Blanca is, in fact, expecting the return of Fernando. All the servants have left the house, leaving Blanca, Isabel and Blanca's maid, Clara, alone. Clara believes firmly in Blanca's innocence in spite of the stupid machinations of Isabel. The Marquis comes to the house and is admitted by Isabel who pretends to open Blanca's room to him.

Fernando returns and is met by Don Pedro who tells him that his wife has betrayed him. Fernando meets Don García, and they both swear to seek vengeance. When they approach the house with the intention of killing both the Marquis and Blanca, they see Blanca in her room with a javelin in her hand. They hear her say that her honor will ever remain unstained. The Marquis tells Fernando and Don García that Blanca's reputation is unsullied, and explains his presence at such a time by saying that he was courting Isabel whom he intends to marry.

Isabel is surprised and overjoyed at this unexpected fulfillment of her schemes. Fernando pardons Blanca, and also asks her forgiveness for having doubted her honor. Isabel's hand is bestowed upon the Marquis.

Casarse sin hablarse.

YNES. Picaro estad muy contento
de que no vais muerto a palos.
. . . . . .
Mi ventura porque siempre
os de gracias infinitas.

(Bib. Nac. Madrid. MS. No. 15527.)

Act I.

Martin delivers a message from his master, Don Diego, to Leonor whose father, Don Fernando, guards his house like a fortress. Don Diego's prowess as a soldier has made him famous, but Leonor tells Martin that his master's brave deeds mean nothing to her. Martin, however, succeeds in arousing her jealousy by speaking of another lady of whom his master is fond.

A letter has been received by King Enrique from Don Sancho, a son of Don Fernando, who had been living as an outlaw in the mountains, a fugitive from justice. Sharing his fate is a certain Doña Beatrix. Don Sancho has asked for a pardon from the king, but the latter, before granting it, proposes to visit Don Sancho in the mountains. In the meantime, he wishes Don Diego to accompany him that night about the city.

Martin has succeeded in communicating to his master that Doña Leonor expected him that night, but Don Diego is, of course, compelled to accompany the King. It happens that they pass Leonor's house while Leonor and her maid are on the balcony. The King wishes to speak to the ladies, and Leonor, who is expecting Don Diego, asks if it is he who speaks. The King replies that he is a friend of his. At one point in this scene, the King and Don Diego who have become separated and meet again without recognising one another, cross swords. They soon desist, however, each one being surprised at his antagonist's skill with the sword.

Having meanwhile ascertained that King Enrique, accompanied by Don Diego, has been speaking to Leonor, Don Fernando is convinced that the King has designs on his daughter's honor, and that he is using Don Diego as a go-between.

Act II.

Don Diego is at the place in the forest to which the King had ordered him to proceed. He laments the sad fate which had prevented him from speaking to Leonor, given him the King for a rival, and caused Don Fernando to believe him nothing less than a go-between. Don Sancho appears and he and Don Diego have a misunderstanding, the result being that they give one another rendezvous at midnight at the Ermita of Atocha, since the arrival of the King and his retinue makes it impossible for them to settle their quarrel on the spot.

Don Sancho is pardoned for a misdeed committed during the reign of Don Pedro. He had eloped with Doña Beatrix, who was to have been married to Don Pedro, and had lived with her since in the mountains.

From an admiring remark made by the King about the valor of the man with whom he had crossed swords the night before, Don Diego gathers that he had been fighting with the King himself. When the latter inquires the name of the lady on the balcony, Don Diego reluctantly informs him that she was Leonor, daughter of Don Fernando, but, when he asks if she is beautiful, he answers in the negative. The King wishes Don Diego to speak to Leonor for him, and Fernando, overhearing this request, believes his suspicions to be entirely confirmed. When Sancho, his son, is chosen to be sent upon an expedition against the Moors, the old man feels that he is being deprived of his only means of defense.

Doña Leonor and Beatrix meet and become fast friends.

The next scene takes place at Fernando's house. He has hinted to his son, Sancho, that a powerful person, by making use of an accomplice, is seeking to rob Leonor of her honor,

adding that this accomplice is now in hiding in the house. Sancho does not fully understand. Don Diego is in the house, his purpose being to speak to Leonor, but, on Sancho's recognising him, they leave to have their duel, and Don Diego is thus again cheated of an opportunity to declare his love.

Act III.

During the night Leonor finds her father writing, and he tells her that he wishes her to go to Burgos as soon as possible to be married to Don Juan de Padilla, Maestre de Santiago, to whom he is just sending a letter. She informs her father that she is in love with another man whose blood is as noble as their own. This further confirms Don Fernando's suspicions, and when Leonor is on the point of telling her father the name of the man she loves, but to whom she has never spoken, Martin appears with the news of the duel between his master and Sancho.

Don Sancho and Don Diego arrive, and the former relates that the duel had ended without bloodshed, because his antagonist, Don Diego, had magnanimously refused to continue after he had disarmed him.

He adds that Don Diego wishes to marry his sister, Leonor, but Fernando replies that this is impossible as she has been promised to another to whom he is sending a message by Ordoño. As the latter is about to start out with the letter, Sancho takes it from him. Sancho and Don Diego decide to go to the King.

The last scene takes place in the palace of King Enrique. Fernando asks the King's permission to marry his daughter to Don Juan Padilla de Burgos, and Enrique is surprised that he did not wish to marry her to someone in the capital.

At this point, the King receives a visit from Leonor and

Beatrix, both heavily veiled. Leonor informs Enrique that her father suspects him of entertaining dishonorable intentions towards her, and, therefore, desires to marry her off as soon as possible.

The King decides to avail himself of a ruse to settle the difficulty. He gives Fernando to understand that Leonor has been done a grave injustice by Don Diego, and that the matter can only be righted by obliging the latter to marry her. The two ladies, having removed their veils, are ushered in. Leonor is betrothed by the King to Don Diego, and Beatrix to Sancho. All, including Fernando, are very happy at the result.

El Desposado por fuerza.

CAS. Biçarro acompañamiento
FER. Con tanta luz, que será ?
. . . . . .
FER. Donde con humildes versos,
tosca pluma, rudo estilo
ha descubierto el poeta
en tegidos laberintos,
que puede olvidar amando
amar un sugeto mismo.

(A single *ejemplar desglosado* without date or place of publication. (Suelta ?) Bib. Nac. Madrid. No. T 20615.)

Act I.

The beautiful Alexandra is about to be married against her will to the Count Ursino. Friends of Alexandra, however, determine to abduct her on her wedding-night. Fernando, a Spaniard, a Colonna on his father's side, and a Mendoza on his mother's, has just come to Naples. He and his servant, Castaño, are in front of the house in which Alexan-

dra is to be married, when the latter rushes out, begging for help. She sees Fernando and asks him to take her to the house of Pompeyo Colonna, where she will be safe from the irate Ursino.

On the way, Fernando and Alexandra begin to fall in love with one another. She lets him know that her name is Celia, but he does not divulge his own. As a matter of fact, Alexandra's friends have prevented her marriage to Ursino so that, some day, she can be married to a Spanish gentleman who is expected to arrive for that purpose. Thus, unwittingly, these destined lovers make one another's acquaintance.

They reach the Colonna house only to find the furious Count Ursino arriving at the same time. While Fernando and the Count are challenging each other to a duel, Pompeyo Colonna arranges to have Alexandra taken to the house of his niece, Celia.

On the departure of the Count, Fernando tells Pompeyo that he has come to Naples to find his father, Pompeyo Colonna. They recognise one another, Pompeyo being overjoyed at finding his son.

Act II.

Celia comes to the King's palace to inform him that Count Ursino has broken his promise to marry her, thinking that he has been wedded to the beautiful Alexandra the night before. The King is extremely displeased, as he has designs on Alexandra himself. He is greatly relieved when Pompeyo announces that the ceremony did not take place, and he orders the Count, whom he is on the point of banishing from Naples, to fulfil his promise to Celia.

Fernando and the Count agree to meet on the outskirts of the city for their duel.

Celia and Alexandra have decided to change names, the latter promising to write the Count so that Celia shall be able to see him. Castaño, Fernando's servant, tells Alexandra that his master's name is Atanasio de Esquivies.

Act III.

The King, having heard of the note written by Alexandra to Ursino, swears that he will kill him. Meanwhile the King has become very friendly to Fernando, and wishes the latter to accompany him to a certain house that night. Fernando is much disturbed, as the house the King mentions is the very one in which Celia (Alexandra) wishes to see him. Later the King asks Fernando to undertake the unpleasant duty of killing Ursino for him.

Under cover of the darkness, Fernando, pretending to mistake the King for the Count, tells the latter what his royal master has asked him to do, adding that only hired ruffians perform such villainous services. The King is now ashamed that he has asked a man of Fernando's noble birth to perform so base a deed. Fernando does see Ursino and warns him, in spite of their enmity and unsettled quarrel, that his life is in grave danger.

In the meantime, Alexandra has confessed her real name to the witty Castaño, but the latter does not reveal his master's identity. Castaño, mistaking Ursino for Fernando, informs him that his Celia is really called Alexandra, and that she is willing to go away with him (Fernando). On hearing this, the Count who has been told by Fernando that the name of the lady he served was Celia, rushes into the house shouting with rage. Thereupon, the King also enters the house, determined to kill Ursino. Celia defends the latter from the King's wrath, and, on the Count's solemnly swear-

ing to fulfil his promise of marriage to Celia, the King pardons him. Fernando had also entered the house. Pompeyo Colonna and Alexandra appear on the scene. Pompeyo asks the King to allow Fernando to marry Alexandra, and, on his request being granted, if it is in compliance with Alexandra's wishes, the latter, who has never learned Fernando's real name, informs the King that she is in love with another. On being asked who the man of her choice is, she draws back a curtain showing Fernando himself. Pompeyo tells her that the fortunate one is his son Fernando, and the King gives his consent to their union.

El Satisfecho.

MAR. Sin ánimos para ver
bast(ara) esta nouedad
. . . . . .
Que e de tomar yo la tana
en aciendo otra comedia.

(Bib. Nac. Madrid. MS. No. 15467.)

Act I.

On his return from the campaign in Flanders, Don García is challenged to a duel by Ribas, an old warrior. The cause of the quarrel is a dispute concerning the question of valor, the younger man asserting that bravery is an inherent quality, and the older man maintaining that it is gained only by experience. Before the arrival of Ribas, Don García becomes involved in a contention with a certain Don Juan. They are fighting when Ribas appears, but the latter succeeds in persuading them to desist. After Don Juan's departure, Don García and Ribas recognise one another. Ribas de-

clares himself satisfied with respect to the point at issue between them, but Don García, asserting that this night's affair is a different matter, draws his sword. When Ribas inquires the cause of Don García's anger, the latter replies that neither Ribas nor Don Juan must ever again pass a certain house on a certain street. Don García, by his repeated insistence of this demand, at last rouses Ribas' indignation sufficiently to cross swords with him. Shortly thereafter, Martin, Don García's servant, announces that the *guardia* is coming. The combatants put up their swords, promising to meet in another place.

Blanca, García's wife, and her sister, Leonor, live in the house to which the approach has been so rigorously denied to Ribas and Don Juan by Don García. The latter has been absent in Flanders for three years, and is furioulsy jealous because he believse that Blanca is the object of Don Juan's visits, whereas he is courting her sister Leonor.

The jealous husband returns to his house accompanied by Martin, who, following his master's instructions, puts out all the lights. A scene of confusion follows, and García hears his wife's voice as well as the voices of Don Juan and Ribas. Unable to restrain himself any longer, he finally rouses the entire household by his shouts and cries of rage. When the candles are again lighted, Ribas explains the whole situation to Don García who is completely satisfied, and announces that Leonor's betrothal to Don Juan will take place on the following day.

At this point, Blanca proclaims that she wishes to put herself under the protection of Ribas and Don Juan, and to live apart from her husband until he has proved completely to his own satisfaction that all his doubts and suspicions are without foundation. As a result of this speech, García becomes as jealous as he was before.

Act II.

Blanca now retires to a convent, Martin acting as messenger between the estranged couple. After a short time they become reconciled, Don García again declaring himself satisfied.

Blanca, however, has been so indiscreet as to give Don Juan a rendezvous in her garden. Her object, she tells him, is to discuss a matter which concerns his happiness. Don Juan infers from this that Blanca has fallen in love with him, and boasts to Ribas of his conquest. Ribas, though he now seriously doubts Blanca's virtue, nevertheless assures Don Juan that he is mistaken. García has overheard their conversation, and again falls a prey to his doubts and suspicions.

The scene in the garden at night gives rise to a series of misunderstandings and confused identities. As Blanca does not appear, Don Juan and Ribas take their departure. The miserable Don García is anxious to have Leonor marry Don Juan, so that he will no longer have cause for jealousy. Taking Martin for Don Juan, and Inez the maid for her mistress Leonor, he joins their hands in token of their betrothal. The servants themselves do not recognise one another.

Act III.

Inez announces the next day that she is going to be married to Don Juan. Martin is dressed up to represent the latter, but the truth is soon discovered, and once more García loses confidence in his wife. Leonor informs her sister that the rendezvous which she had given Don Juan for the purpose of arranging the marriage between the latter and herself was a terrible blunder.

There is a third reconciliation between Blanca and her jealous husband, but it is of short duration. García notices

that his wife turns pale when Ribas says that he wishes to speak to her, and all his slumbering suspicions are again aroused with renewed intensity.

Ribas has decided to try an experiment to test Blanca's fidelity to her husband. Taking advantage of García's absence, he brings Don Juan to visit her. She explains to Don Juan why she wished to see him in the garden that night, but while she is talking to him, García returns and Don Juan hides himself. Don García, having already discovered Don Juan's presence in the house, demands that he be shown where the culprit is concealed. Blanca, in order to prove her innocence, begs her husband not to run the risk of fighting such an antagonist with a sword, but to arm himself with a pistol. She then points out his hiding-place. Leonor, thereupon, exclaims that they are forgetting that Don Juan is her betrothed, and Ribas also reminds them of the same fact. Don Juan gives his hand to Leonor, García pardons him, and so the play ends happily.

Comedias heroicas.

El Hortelano de Tordesillas.

ELVIRA. Ines extraño valor
INES. La vida abrá de costarle.
. . . . . .
en tan bárbaros esbojos
y en versos tan mal escritos.

(Bib. Nac. Madrid. MS. No. 17299.)

Act I.

García, who passes for a gardener, attracts the King's attention by his bravery in driving off some marauding soldiers who had destroyed his garden. In fact, he had

killed one of the soldiers for insulting the King's name. The King pardons García for the crime he has committed, giving him a ring which García says he will give to his wife. The King's sister, Princess Catalina, having left the convent, is to be married to the Prince of León who is staying at the court, and is in command of the King's army. The villainous Fortún is in the Prince's service and aspires to the hand of the Princess' lady-in-waiting, Elvira. The latter's uncle is the Conde de Benavente, counsellor to the King (Juan II of Castile). The Prince of León is ambitious for power and shows little loyalty to his sovereign.

Elvira, much impressed by García's valor, wishes him to enter the service of the Princess. She then proceeds to recount to García the story of her wrongs. She notes that García, on entering her room removes his sword. She tells him of the designs of the wicked Fortún, and goes on to relate how she had been betrothed by her parents to a brave man by the name of García Hernandez Manrique (García's real name), whom she had never seen, because he had been obliged to leave his home through the machinations of a wicked brother.

García, overjoyed to find Elvira so beautiful, promises that he will help rid her of Fortún, and also find her husband for her. As a pledge of his good faith he gives her a ring.

Fortún sees him give Elvira the ring, and tells her that he has heard García say that he intended to give this same ring to his wife. García admits that he has said so. Elvira is very angry to think that he has a wife, and refuses to keep the token, but García finally persuades her to wear it.

Act II.

Hernando and Martin have followed their master, García, to the Court. Hernando is disloyal to his master, and pu-

blishes the fact that García is the fugitive García Hernandez Manrique de León. Martin's fidelity to his master causes Ines, Elvira's maid, to prefer him to Hernando.

No longer able to conceal his identity, García finds himself compelled to seek protection from his mistress, the Princess. He explains to her that, though the King had pardoned him for a crime committed at Court (killing a soldier), he had not pardoned him for crimes committed in León. The Prince of León hears these words, and orders García to be imprisoned.

Elvira, though she realises that García is her affianced husband, will not say a word in his favor, because he has been a servant in her room, and she fears that such an admission would, under the circumstances, put a stain on her good name. While García is in prison, Fortún, who is found in Elvira's room, informs those present that he has free access thereto. Elvira feels now that she is compelled to allow herself to be betrothed to Fortún. She visits García in prison, however, and swears that her heart shall always be faithful to him.

The Prince of León has attempted, by promising García his liberty, to undermine his loyalty to the King, but in vain. His overtures to the Conde de Benavente for the same base purpose meet with equally little success.

García is released from prison, but the news of Elvira's betrothal to Fortún fills him with despair.

Act III.

Hearing of García's loyalty, the King pardons him for the crimes of which he is accused in León, and places him in command of his army instead of the Prince.

When the Prince wishes to sit in the King's chair to sign

the document which relieves him of his command of the army and hands it over to García, the latter forces him to sign it kneeling to show his unworthiness. But for the intervention of the Princess, the Prince would have been banished from his kingdom.

Elvira tells García that she still loves him, but that her honor must be preserved.

When asked by the King why he is so downcast, García replies that Elvira's betrothal to Fortún is the cause of his distress. Just as the King declares that he will not allow the marriage, Elvira rushes out saying that she has killed Fortún. She is pardoned, but her betrothal to García is postponed till they have time to recover from the shock caused by the tragic events of the day. The Princess' hand is bestowed upon the Prince.

El Príncipe Villano.

INFANTA. Cansada de la caza baxo errante
por la riza quedeja de esse Athlante,
. . . . . .
BEL. Y aquí al Principe Villano
INF. Da fin noble Coliseo,
VEN. De quien os muestra humilde
ROS. Los bien nacidos deseos.

(*Pensil de Apolo en Doze Comedias nuevas de los Mejores Ingenios de España. Parte Catorze.* Por Domingo Garcia y Morras. Madrid, 1661. Bib. Nac. Madrid. R 22667-701. Parte 14.)

Act I.

The Princess Margarita of Poland while out hunting has often stopped to converse with a handsome peasant, by the

name of Belisardo. This interest soon develops into an ardent passion on both sides.

The Princess has been betrothed by her father to Prince Vencislao of Denmark who comes to the Court of Poland as an ambassador without disclosing his real identity. He happens to overhear Margarita confiding to the Duchess Rosaura that she is in love with the peasant, Belisardo. Rosaura, who does not love her suitor, the Prince of Poland, has become enamoured of the Danish ambassador, unaware, of course, that he is the Prince Vencislao.

In the meantime, Belisardo comes to Court, accompanied by his servant, Peregil. Just as they arrive, a lion escapes from its cage, and makes straight for the Princess' apartments. Belisardo, who possesses great strength and bravery, overcomes the lion. As a reward for this valiant deed, the King allows Belisardo to serve in the Court.

Act II.

Belisardo, having incurred the King's displeasure by killing a nobleman in a tournament, seeks Margarita's protection. They confess their mutual love, and the Princess, hearing someone approaching, bids Belisardo conceal himself.

The Prince of Poland confesses to his sister, Princess Margarita, his hopeless passion for the Duchess Rosaura.

The unhappy Prince meets Vencislao in the dark, swords are drawn, and the Polish Prince receives a mortal wound. The old King, hearing that his son has been killed, orders lights in every corner of the palace. When this is done, the unfortunate Belisardo is revealed, and, as he happens to be found standing not far from the murdered Prince's body, he is accused of the crime, and, in spite of protesting his innocence, is carried off to the tower to be imprisoned.

Act III.

In the opening scene we find Belisardo in prison, occupied in writing a letter to the Princess. The latter enters his place of confinement, and finds him asleep with the letter he has just been writing her on the table in front of him. She reads the message, writes him one in return, and departs.

The old peasant, Leonido, with whom Belisardo has been brought up comes to the Court. He informs the King that Belisardo is, in reality, a Prince, and relates how a Princess of Denmark, in order to avoid quarrels between her twin sons over their claims to the throne, had left one of them, Belisardo, to grow up in his house as a peasant.

The Princess is very happy to find that the man she loves is her equal in birth, and she repeats to Belisardo Leonido's story. This conversation is overheard by Vencislao, who, realising that Belisardo is his own brother, decides to confess his crime. He escapes punishment by pleading that he acted in self-defence.

Belisardo's innocence being established, and his true identity revealed, the King gives him the hand of his daughter, the Princess Margarita, and Rosaura's dream is fulfilled by becoming the bride of Vencislao.

En Riesgos luce el Amor.

TEOD. Que importe que Sigismundo
vuelva aora victorioso,
para que muestres furioso,
del alma el amor profundo ?
. . . . . .

SIG. Porque en los futuros siglos
entre mármoles eternos
merezca nombre el que dixo

que en riesgos luce el amor,
porque con él no ay peligro.

(Bib. Nac. Madrid, No. T 21433. Suelta without date or place of publication.)

Act I.

The victorious Sigismundo returns from a campaign against the Turks. Clorinarda, daughter of the King of Hungary, is in love with him, but she has been betrothed by her father to a foreign prince. Alfredo, *privado* of the King, loves the Princess, and, being jealous of Sigismundo, he determines to cause the latter's downfall. Teodoro promises to help Alfredo in his plan for revenge. They decide to enlist the services of Arnesto, captain of the guard, to further their nefarious scheme, because they know that the latter also bears a grudge against the Princess' hero.

Sigismundo believes that Clorinarda no longer loves him, misled by the fact that she pretends to concur in her father's wish that she should marry the Prince of Scotland. To clear away Sigismundo's doubts, she arranges to meet him at night on the terrace of the palace. The Princess makes a frank avowal of her love, and, when Sigismundo humbly begs to be allowed to kiss the ground she walks on, she tells him that he would find more solace in her arms. When they realise that their embrace has been observed by Arnesto, they are both afraid that he will inform the King, her father. At Clorinarda's request, Sigismundo has had a portrait painted of himself in full armour. Alfredo, seeing Sigismundo thus attired, hurries to the King with the news that his victorious general, dressed in warlike regalia, is about to lead a revolt against the sovereign, and take the reins of power into his own hands. When the King sees Sigismundo dressed in this fashion, he is convinced that the accusation is true, and has him imprisoned as a traitor.

Act II.

Sigismundo suspects Arnesto who bears him ill-will, and who saw him with the Princess on the terrace, of causing his imprisonment. When the captain of the guard is called to testify in the matter, Sigismundo is in despair, but, to the astonishment of all, Arnesto declares that the King's general is the most loyal subject in the realm. He is not yet released from prison, however. Some time later, Arnesto enters the cell where Sigismundo is confined, carrying with him two swords so that they may settle the dispute which is the cause of enmity between them. They fight, and Arnesto declares himself satisfied after receiving a slight wound. He had been informed wrongfully that Sigismundo had accused him of malingering during the war.

Arnesto allows Sigismundo to escape so that he may keep his appointment with the Princess on the terrace. Alfredo gets wind of the escape, and plans to have all the city gates closed after Sigismundo has entered the palace grounds. In his conversation with the Princess, the hero takes occasion to praise the noble Arnesto, hoping to arouse the interest of Celia, Clorinarda's cousin, in his friend.

Arnesto, observing a man watching under the Princess' balcony, engages him in a struggle and wounds him. The King, believing that Sigismundo is the culprit, wishes to reward Arnesto for his service. The Princess is in despair, and bemoans her sad plight.

Act III.

Alfredo and Teodoro have been successful in their designs for having Sigismundo banished, and, not content with

this, by counterfeiting an order, they cause him to be arrested, and hope that this may lead to his execution. Arnesto has remained steadfastly loyal to his friend, and the Princess, accompanied by Celia, visits Sigismundo in the forest.

The *alcayde* is on the point of taking Sigismundo into custody, when the peasants demand his release, in order that he may lead the people against the Turks, who are laying waste the countryside. The *alcayde* consents, on condition that the sentence shall be fulfilled on Sigismundo's return.

The Princess' hero becomes so enthusiastic about the coming campaign, that she upbraids him for his neglect of her. He assures Clorinarda of his love, and leaves her in charge of the same *alcayde* who had come to arrest him.

Alfredo and Teodoro, still pursuing their villainous designs, attempt to assassinate Sigismundo in his tent. They are found out, but their intended victim magnanimously pardons them.

As a reward for the great victory won by the hero, the King bestows upon him the hand of the Princess Clorinarda, Celia is betrothed to Arnesto, and the two villains are banished from the kingdom.

Comedias históricas.

El Cerco de Sevilla por el Rey Don Fernando.

BER. Tente cobarde valiente
CEL. Morirás viven los cielos
. . . . . .
Pone silencio el poeta
Por la humildad de sus versos.

(Bib. Nac. Madrid. MS. No. 15149.)

Act I.

Celaura, the daughter of the King of Tunis, relates to the Moorish King of Seville how she had been pursued to Spain by the Monster, a terrible Corsair. Buitrón, a prisoner, also describes his experiences with the Monster, and the death of Celaura's father at the hands of the latter, adding that the Monster is now in Spain. Celaura, overcome by this dreadful news, falls in a swoon.

Bermudo, a captive Christian, recognises in Buitrón his former servant. The unfortunate Buitrón is about to be executed by the Moors as a carrier of evil tidings, when Bermudo asks that he may be pardoned. Celaura, who is enamoured of Bermudo, adds her entreaties to his on behalf of Buitrón. Roselina, niece of the Moorish King of Seville, also has tender feelings for Bermudo, and vows, in a jealous passion, that she will avenge herself on him for his neglect of her.

While these events are taking place, the Christian King, Fernando, is laying siege to Seville. While Fernando is in camp with his captains, Garci Pérez and the Maestre de Santiago, he is visited by an angel in the guise of a pilgrim. This celestial visitor transports the King to Seville, and shows him where to place the holy image in the principal mosque of the city. Though the Moors hurl javelins at the King, the angel brings him back in safety to his tent.

Garci-Pérez and the Maestre inform King Fernando of the restlessness of the soldiers, who are tired of the long siege. Calling for a book of the Mass, he addresses the soldiers, saying, that by the aid of the Lord and His Holy Word, they will take the city or die in the attempt. He then orders preparations to be made for the attack.

Act II.

Celidoro, a Moor, and Bermudo's rival for Celaura's hand, has been condemned to death on account of having entered the latter's sleeping quarters. According to Moorish custom, the offended maiden performs the office of executioner. Roselina, in furtherance of her revenge, has had Bermudo substituted for Celidoro. Celaura, however, when about to strike the fatal blow, hears Bermudo speak, recognises his voice, and orders his release. She then urges him to flee for safety from the city, and Bermudo escapes on the horse prepared for Celidoro.

Celaura very soon follows her lover, and is pursued by Celidoro. On overtaking Bermudo, Celaura begs him to deliver her from her pursuer. The rivals meet and the Moor is forced to take to flight. Unfortunately the Monster descries Celaura, notes her likeness to the picture which he always carries with him, and bears her off to the river. He then embarks on a boat with her, leaving the helpless Bermudo in despair.

Garci-Pérez and the Maestre de Santiago join Bermudo, and bid him follow them, saying that Fernando's life is in grave danger. They find the King conversing with Rustan, a Moor, who assures the King of success, and offers to show him the weakest point in the walls of the city. This is a trap, and the King almost loses his life at the hands of the Moors who suddenly bear down upon him. He is saved, however, and the signal is given for the assault upon the walls.

Act III.

Celaura is now a captive of the Monster. By pretending love for him, she succeeds in persuading him to lay aside

his weapons. He rests his head on her lap, and she tells him that she wishes to wipe the blood from his face, that is to say, the blood of those whom the Monster has slain in battle. While seemingly engaged in this kind service, she covers his eyes, and, at a signal from her, the boatman draws his dagger and stabs him many times. Thus Celaura escapes from the Monster who, in his dying struggles succeeds in killing the boatman.

The assault against Seville is well under way, the main point of attack being a certain bridge, the destruction of which would cut off the city from further hope of reinforcements.

Celaura appears, riding on a white charger, and challenging any of the Christian leaders to single combat. Bermudo, who recognises her, accepts the challenge, and they agree to fight on foot. The lady soon surrenders to Bermudo, and declares that she will remain his captive for life.

Seville falls, the bridge having finally been destroyed, and a triumphant entry is made into the city by the Christians. Celaura renounces all her Moorish possessions, and accepts the Christian faith along with her Christian husband.

El Conde de Fuentes.

NUÑO. Que esperanza te sustenta
señor
BIMIE. Nuño la maior
que puede darme el amor
. . . . . .
da fin el Conde de Fuentes
con que perdonéis sus faltas.

(Bib. Nac. Madrid, MS. No. 16834.)

Act I.

The Conde de Bimiojo has sent rich presents to Leonor in order to gain her love, but she scorns him and returns all his gifts. Leonor's love is already bestowed on Alencastro who is in Africa. Bimiojo's attentions are doubly unwelcome, as he is, through them, being false to Doña Juana, whose hand he has already asked in marriage.

Bimiojo hopes to obtain assistance in his love affair from the powerful Conde de Fuentes, but on visiting him for this purpose, he finds that the latter has just received a communication from King Philip II, advising him to prepare for the defense of Lisbon with the forces at his disposal, as the English had already sailed from Plymouth. Since the country is now in a state of war, Bimiojo realises that this would be an inopportune moment to declare the real object of his visit.

The Conde de Fuentes receives a note from Leonor, which, after reading it, he inadvertently lets fall. This letter is recovered by Alencastro who has just returned from Africa, accompanied by his servant, Gonzalo. Bimiojo had also noticed that the *escudero* delivering the note was a servant in Leonor's household.

Leonor's message to the Conde expresses a wish to see him urgently. On arriving at her home, he finds Doña Juana there. She has visited Leonor with the purpose of announcing her prior claims to the heart of Bimiojo, and learns that it is precisely with the intention of ridding herself of the latter's unwelcome attentions that Leonor has sent for the Conde de Fuentes. The Conde de Fuentes expresses his willingness to do all in his power to persuade the Conde de Bimiojo to relinquish his hopeless suit.

When Alencastro and Bimiojo arrive at Leonor's house,

the Conde de Fuentes warns them that there must be no quarrelling between them at this critical time when their country is in danger. While he is thus admonishing them, news is brought that the English fleet has just been sighted off Peniche, only three leagues distant.

Act II.

The sergeant of the Conde de Fuentes brings the news that the English have been prevented from landing at Cascaes. Gonzalo entertains the soldiers with a long story about the bloody battle in Africa in which King Sebastian had been killed, and in which he and his master, Alencastro, had taken part.

In spite of the war, Alencastro and Bimiojo have not been able to bury their private grudge, and are about to fight it out, but they are interrupted just as they are drawing their swords. As a punishment, they are sent as prisoners to Leonor's house where Doña Juana is also staying. Ashamed, they agree to abandon their dispute until after the campaign has terminated.

Act III.

The bastard, Don Antonio, son of Don Luis, and nephew of the ill-starred King Sebastian, has brought the English with him to lay siege to Lisbon. In spite of fearing treachery from the Portuguese, the Conde de Fuentes finally decides to open the gates and march out to meet the enemy. In the conflict in the open field, Bimiojo and Alencastro, now on friendly terms, show great spirit and bravery. To show their change of spirit, Bimiojo comes to his rival's rescue when he is hard pressed in the battle.

Gonzalo, however, is not actuated by such noble purposes.

He despoils one of the enemy's dead of a fine jacket which he dons, and, as a consequence of his covetousness, is almost carried off by the English to be buried at sea. Fortunately for Gonzalo, a fresh attack by the Portuguese compels the foreign enemy to abandon him. But his plight is little better, for, when he gets on to his feet, dressed in his stolen grandeur, his own countrymen are deceived, and he is about to meet death at their hands, when he is fortunately recognised by Alencastro and his life is spared.

After the battle Bimiojo and Alencastro show a disposition to renew their interrupted quarrel, but their dispute is definitely settled when the Prince Cardinal, at the request of the Conde de Fuentes, bestows the hand of Leonor on Alencastro as a reward for his services. Nothing remains for Bimiojo but to ask for Juana's hand, and in so doing, he claims that he is fulfilling a promise made to him by Leonor.

El Sastre del Campillo.

MAN. Muero yo como os libréis
Alfonso Rey de Castilla
. . . . . .
MAN. Donde con umilde estilo
y con tan incultos versos
quiso el poeta escriviros
la hazaña en que se eterniza
nuestro sastre del campillo.

(Bib. Nac. Madrid. MS. No. R 115.)

Act I.

Manrique de Lara appears with the child King of Castile in his arms. He is endeavouring to save the latter from-Fernando, King of León, who has instituted a search for them

both. Fernán Ruiz, an old man, himself a Castilian, and secretly friendly to Castile, and to Manrique de Lara, is forced by the King of León to take part against his own countrymen. The old man has promised his daughter, Blanca, in marriage to Manrique, but the wicked King, enamoured of Blanca, plans to enjoy her favors himself.

Manrique found in the forest a tailor, the *sastre del campillo*, Juan Prieto, who was dying from wounds he had received at the hands of a band of rustics who had attacked him. Before he expires the tailor tells Manrique that he had succeeded in killing two of his assailants. Juan Prieto's likeness to himself suggests to Manrique the idea of using the clothes of the deceased tailor as a disguise, and dressing the corpse in his own. By this ruse he expects to be regarded as dead. When the rustics discover Manrique dressed as the *Sastre del campillo*, they would have killed him if Gil Polo had not intervened. The latter informs them that his sister, Elvira, is to be married to the tailor. After their departure, Elvira throws her arms around Manrique's neck, addressing him as " Juan ".

At this inopportune moment Blanca appears, and, recognising Manrique, becomes extremely jealous. As soon as Manrique finds himself alone with Blanca, he explains the whole situation to her, but she refuses to listen. However, she leaves some jewels for him with his servant, Rodrigo.

Hearing Blanca speaking in a loud voice, the King and Fernán Ruiz come upon the scene. Manrique announces that Manrique de Lara has been killed, which news, of course, greatly pleases the King.

Act II.

Manrique de Lara's identity has now been discovered, a peasant having seen the exchange of clothing with the corpse

of the *sastre del campillo*. The inn in which Rodrigo and Manrique are lodging has been surrounded by Leonese soldiers. The innkeeper, in the forefront of a crowd of peasants, among whom is the *alcalde*, asks Manrique to show his skill as a tailor. He makes a bold attempt, but, in spite of his efforts, it is soon evident to all that he cannot be the *sastre*, and must be Manrique de Lara. The latter, admitting that this is true, desires to be left alone with the Leonese soldiers who are outside. The request is granted, the *alcalde* and the peasants taking their departure. Alone with the soldiers, Manrique tells them that he had feigned for the moment that he was Manrique de Lara, in order to save his life, as the peasants were seeking the *sastre* for the murder of two of their men. The soldiers, however, refuse to believe his story, and lay hands on him. In the struggle which ensues, Manrique succeeds in escaping. Finding the King, he throws himself at his feet, declaring that he is the *sastre del campillo*, and begs to be saved from the peasants. He asks the King to pardon him for the crime of killing his two rustic assailants. This is granted, and the King gives him a ring which he can show if his life is ever again threatened.

Manrique is again captured by the rustics, and is brought before the King. Fernán Ruiz decides that it is his duty to inform the King that this is Manrique de Lara, and to confirm the truth of this, the King resorts to a trick. He announces that he wishes Blanca to marry Manrique, saying at the same time, " Manrique come forward ", but the ruse fails as neither is deceived. Blanca even has the discretion to keep silent when the King gives Elvira a thousand ducats for her marriage to the *sastre del campillo*.

Manrique overhears a conversation between the King and Fernán Ruiz. Fortún Ximeno, a traitor to the Castilians, had sent a message from the castle of San Estévan de Gormaz, saying that a hundred men would be sufficient to invest the

castle and carry off the child king of Castile. The King of León entrusts Fernán Ruiz with this expedition, and the old man is forced to accept the command.

Blanca's jealousy is aroused by Manrique's so persistently keeping up the pretense that he is Juan Prieto, the *sastre*, who is soon to be married to Elvira.

Act III.

Informed of the King's plans, Manrique, dressed as a shepherd, meets Fernán Ruiz at a ford before he arrives at the castle of San Estévan. Only thirty of Fernán's men succeed in crossing the ford.

The old man's sentiments are divided between loyalty to the King of León, and the child King Alfonso of Castile. He finally decides in favor of the latter. He kills Fortún as a traitor to his King and country, and takes his place at the gate. Manrique now approaches with the Leonese soldiers. He holds Fernán Ruiz until the soldiers have passed through the gate, which he then closes, leaving himself and the old man outside. He then beats a drum to arouse Almejir and the defenders inside the castle calling out that the soldiers are few in number and easy to overcome. It is only after they have left the castle that Fernán Ruiz discovers that his companion is Manrique de Lara.

The peasants again seek the *sastre del campillo*, this time to force him to marry Elvira. Manrique appears, dressed as a rustic, and, seeing the King in the company of Blanca, his jealousy is aroused. To avenge himself, he expresses his willingness to be married to Elvira.

Blanca is so disturbed by Manrique's actions, that she appeals to Rodrigo for help. The latter shouts that someone has wounded him, and thereupon, the crowd disperses,

and the King seeks a place of safety behind some trees. Blanca and Manrique are left alone, and they take advantage of the opportunity to become reconciled and embrace one another.

This tender scene is witnessed by the King and Elvira, and they are both convinced that their plans are defeated. Manrique confesses his true identity, and only the arrival of the soldiers from Castile prevents the King from taking vengeance upon him. Elvira retires from the world and enters a convent.

Comedias religiosas.

El Mejor Tutor es Dios.

Ferra de gavia que el viento
lleva con fuerça cruel
a las peñas el baxel.
. . . . . .
RA. Casamientos de milagro
son.
EM. El alma no se engaña.
Vamos a casa : y los dos
vestid galas.
SER. Nueva gloria;
porque diga nuestra historia,
que el mejor Tutor es Dios.

(*Comedias nuevas de los mejores ingenios de esta Corte. Parte* 28. Madrid, 1667. Joseph Fernandez de Buendia. Bib. Nac. Madrid, No. R 22681.)

Act I.

Clemente, a merchant, with his son, Alexandro, and his daughter, Serafina, have been shipwrecked. They escape with their lives, but Clemente's immense fortune, consisting

of rich jewels and chests of treasure, has gone down with the ship, and he and his children are left penniless. Not only do they lose all their possessions, but Carlos, Serafina's lover, who was on board with them, seems to have perished also. The unfortunate family decide to remain at the place where they have been cast ashore, and earn their livelihood by fishing.

Alexandro and Serafina, dressed as simple fisher-folk, meet Ricardo and Irene, returning from the hunt. A purely conventional marriage has been arranged for Ricardo and Irene by the Emperor, and Ricardo, whose affections are not at all involved in the match, is at once struck by Serafina's beauty, while Alexandro is equally favorably impressed by Irene. Ricardo and Irene are much surprised that such humble people should have such fine manners and such noble bearing.

In the meantime, Carlos has been saved from the wreck, and appears, dressed in sailor's clothing. Ricardo asks him to give him his help in winning the hand of a peasant girl, whose identity Carlos has, of course, not yet discovered.

Clemente has recovered a pearl worth two thousand ducats from the wreck, and he declares that, if he is ever fortunate enough to recover the remainder of his fortune, he will bequeath it to charity.

There is a strange beggar, named Morcón, who is continually soliciting alms from Clemente.

Act II.

Irene is gradually falling in love with Alexandro, whom she does not believe to be a simple fisherman, though she calls her interest in him *una inclinación villana.*

The nets have been thrown again, and after repeated

attempts, Clemente's whole fortune is gradually recovered. He decides to establish himself in Alexandria, where he can use his great wealth to most advantage. Morcón, the troublesome beggar, requests to be taken with them, and, on his promising to improve his behaviour, Clemente agrees to employ him as a servant.

Carlos is surprised to find that the peasant girl of whom Ricardo is enamoured, is Serafina. They confess to Ricardo that they are already betrothed to each other.

Alexandro visits Irene in her palace in Alexandria, and, as he is now fittingly dressed as a courtier, she has no longer any scruples in giving him her love.

Act III.

The rich Clemente, who feels that his days are numbered, calls his son and daughter to his side, and tells them that in accordance with his oath, he is leaving all his great fortune to charity, and that God will be their guardian. He also informs them that Carlos is his son by a secret marriage, but that he has been brought up by Ramon de Moncada, whom Carlos regarded as his father. But Ramon, as Spanish ambassador, is visiting the Emperor in Alexandria.

Clemente dies soon afterwards, having disposed of his property in the manner indicated to his children.

Ricardo is soon to be married to Irene. Both complain bitterly of being forced into a union where there is no longer any love on either side. Don Ramon de Moncada confirms Clemente's statement that Carlos is the half-brother of Serafina, and, on learning this fact, Ricardo obtains permission to marry Serafina. Irene also obtains her heart's desire by being allowed to wed Alexandro.

The point of the play is, that Clemente's son and daughter,

being left with nothing except God as their guardian, are, in reality, not left destitute.

Las Siete Estrellas de Francia.

BELT. Que venga un hombre de bien
a cursar a las Escuelas
de Paris desde Galicia
trayendo el dinero en letras
que se están por estudiar ?
. . . . . .
BELT. Que es tan medroso el Poeta,
aunque su humildad le rinda
de ver que en tan rudos versos
tantas Estrellas se eclipsan.

(*Comedias nuevas escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España. Parte* 21. Madrid, 1663. Joseph Fernandez de Buendia. Bib. Nac. Madrid, R 22674-701. Vol. 21.)

Act I.

Dineo, who leads an exemplary life, upbraids Bruno for his scandalous conduct. While the two students are talking, they are joined by Beltrán, a Spaniard. Bruno is attracted by the latter's cheerful manners, and engages him as his servant. The scene is laid in Paris.

A lady descends from a carriage and approaches Bruno. After exhorting the wayward Bruno once more to mend his ways, before it is too late, the saintly Dineo takes his departure. The lady, whose name is Matilda, implores Bruno's assistance. She is the daughter of the Duke of Ferrara, and has come to the Court of France to be married to the Duke of Orleans. The fickle Duke has begun to neglect Matilda for her friend, Margarita, daughter of the Duke of

Mantua. Matilda admits that she has not entirely discouraged Count Rudolfo, a suitor who has lately made advances to her. Bruno becomes very much affected when she mentions Rudolfo. At this moment, the Duke of Orleans appears : he demands that the lady, whom he suspects of being Matilda, shall remove her veil. Bruno stands his ground, however, telling Matilda not to obey as he will protect her, and adding, before she leaves, that he will see her at the King's *sarao* that night. The Duke and Bruno, as soon as they are alone, challenge one another to a duel, agreeing to meet the next day for that purpose.

A description is given by Beltrán of the salon of the King of France, and he also gives an account of the excitement and commotion which take place when Bruno, in a jealous fury, kills the Count Rudolfo.

Matilda whispers to Bruno to flee to the house of Dineo for *sagrado*, where she will send a horse on which he can escape. He finds the sanctimonious Dineo praying for a special place in Heaven for himself. Bruno kneels down and prays like the true sinner he feels himself to be. He informs Dineo that he has killed a man, and that he is going to Rome to seek absolution. Dineo has a vision in which he sees two chairs; one of fire over his own head, and one of glory over Bruno's.

Meantime, the Duke has been arrested, and is accused of complicity in Bruno's crime and of aiding him to escape.

Act II.

Bruno has been in Rome for a year, and the Duke has suffered imprisonment for the same length of time. The King is determined to keep him confined until the man guilty of the crime surrenders himself. Margarita does not intervene in the Duke's favor, because she is afraid of Matilda's

jealousy, and the latter does not wish him to believe that she is interested enough to intercede for him. She does suggest that perhaps the Duke did not send Bruno the horse, but the King remains obdurate. Her mild attempt to save the Duke is interrupted by Beltrán rushing in and begging for an audience with the King.

After explaining that he is Bruno's servant, and that he has been starving in Paris while his master has been in Rome, he declares that the Duke is not guilty of the deeds of which he is accused. While talking, he lets slip the news that Bruno is now at Dineo's house. The King immediately despatches guards, and Bruno is brought before him. Dressed in priest's garb, Bruno throws himself at the feet of his sovereign. He shows the King a bull of dispensation from the Pope, as well as the decree ordaining him a priest. He receives the royal pardon, and is presented with a prebend in Paris. The Duke of Orleans is released and formally betrothed to Matilda. The young Prince who had also been imprisoned by the stern old King's order, is also liberated and Margarita given in marriage to him.

The Duke and Bruno, who have now become fast friends, are conversing together in the cemetery, when Beltrán suddenly appears and announces that all Paris is coming to the burial of the saintly Dineo. He tells them that musicians and singers from all parts of the world form part of the impressive cortege.

The burial service is being conducted, and when the words " Responde mihi quantas habeo iniquitates ", are pronounced, Dineo raises himself from his coffin to say that he is being judged by the Lord. The crowd are astounded, as Dineo's life has been in every way holy. When the " Responde mihi " is pronounced for the third time, Dineo again raises himself saying, " Por justo juicio de Dios, salgo condenado ".

Bruno, very downcast, remains behind, praying the Lord to have mercy on him, a poor sinner.

Act III.

The Duke and Matilda go hunting in the forest, and encounter Bruno with six of his disciples. The hungry Beltrán is also with them. The Duke asks Bruno's permission to erect a temple in the forest for him and his companions. The new order is to be called the Carthusian Order, and silence will be the rule.

While Bruno stands there he undergoes a terrible temptation. The devil appears in the shape of Matilda and tempts him. He drives away the evil vision, which whispers that it will follow him to his lodging. Observing the Duke and Matilda, who are still speaking of the temple they are to build, Bruno entreats Matilda to pray the Lord to save him from himself. Matilda is surprised, but complies with his request. Bruno thanks her for the great relief her petition has brought him. Voices within him say, " Venciste, Bruno, venciste ".

On another occasion Bruno sees a dragon which breathes fire at him. He frightens it away by shaking at it a cross made of twigs. He takes Beltrán for a demon, when he appears as Donado. His next vision is of Dineo in flames, who reminds him of their compact that the one who should die first would return to visit the survivor. Dineo says that he is suffering in torment, and, urging Bruno to continue in his well-doing, he disappears.

At the consecration ceremony of the temple at which the King is present, Bruno and his six companions appear, each with a star on his head. Beltrán asks, " En esta casa hay cocina ", is told to be silent, but requests permission to speak the last four lines of the play.

Comedias mitológicas y de historia clasica.

Los Tres Señores del Mundo.

DANT. Soy villano y el amor
de mi preso hijo obliga
a tan piadosa fatiga
tenga a su vida temor.
. . . . . .
LEP. Marche, pues, tu gente a Roma.
OCT. A donde por siglos largos,
los Tres Señores del Mundo
le dé final triumvirato.

(*Parte Tercera de Comedias de los mejores ingenios de España.* Madrid, 1663. Melchor Sanchez. Bib. Nac. Madrid. R 22656-701.)

Act I.

Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, dreams that she and a great Roman captain will die for love of one another, and that her death will be caused by the sting of an asp. So alarmed is she by this dream, that when a slave approaches with a basket of flowers, every leaf and petal must be trampled upon to destroy any poisonous reptile that may be lurking in the foliage.

Anthony, dressed in an old cloak, comes to a Roman camp in France (*sic*). Having made the soldiers promise that, if he reveals the abiding place of the unfortunate Mark Anthony, they will do him no harm, he lets the ragged garment drop from his shoulders, and appears clad in magnificent armor. Thereupon, he addresses the soldiers, and they, much moved by his eloquence, agree to follow him.

There is a meeting between Anthony and Octavios, who, to save the lives of soldiers, decide to settle their differences by a duel to the death, daggers being the weapons chosen. Lepidus interrupts their struggle by suggesting that the three

should divide the world amongthem. His proposal is gladly accepted, and each one, in his selfish ambition, callously consents to the sacrifice of some close friend.

They are seated and are discussing the matter, when suddenly Octavius' chair is lifted into the air, and Fame predicts that he will rule the world. Though this is recognised as merely a piece of magic, Anthony is greatly disturbed. In making the partition, Anthony chooses Africa, Lepidus, Europe and Octavius Asia.

Octavius reminds them that Cleopatra must die, and Anthony promises to bring her back as a prisoner to Rome, but Lepidus expresses his fear that Cleopatra will make a willing captive of Anthony.

Act II.

A captain of the guard, Seleuco, having forsaken Aristea's love, in the presumptious hope of gaining that of Cleopatra, is about to be beheaded by order of the indignant queen, but the entreaties of Aristea move the royal heart, and he is pardoned.

Mark Anthony sends his ambassadors ahead with orders to bring Cleopatra to Sicily and thence to Rome. Tifeo, who has come with the mission, takes it upon himself to advise the great queen how to captivate his master, Anthony, by her renowned beauty.

The scene changes to Italy where we have a glimpse of the war being waged in Italy between Lepidus and Octavius, with the latter's star ever in the ascendant. Anthony has a vision of a slave menacing him with a sword, and warning him to flee from Octavius and to abandon the campaign in Italy.

He comes to Egypt, and finds that Cleopatra's beauty surpasses all description. He gives up all idea of sending her to Rome to figure in the triumphal procession.

Act III.

Love for Cleopatra has gained complete mastery over Mark Anthony. His soldiers try, in vain, to rouse his martial spirit, but he seems to have resigned himself to the certain ruin which awaits him. He knows that Octavius is approaching with his army, but he fails to make any preparations to meet the attack.

The assault on the walls has begun, and defeat is inevitable. Anthony's lieutenant, Marcio, has been mortally wounded, and goes away to die. Seleuco, the captain of the guard, refuses to inflict death on the ill-fated Anthony when the latter requests him to do so. Anthony falls on his own sword and expires in Cleopatra's arms. True to her prophetic dream, Cleopatra dies from the sting of an asp.

Octavius orders them to be given a fitting burial, and declares that their desperate courage has snatched the crown of victory from his hands.

Los Trabajos de Ulises.

ENR. Ya, claro Ulises, que el cielo
te ha hecho padre dichoso,
dexas al cielo envidioso
del bien que te dió en el suelo.
. . . . . .
LAER. Donde por tan varios casos
a los trabajos de Ulises,
el glorioso fin les damos.
DU. Y son tales que al Poeta
le cuestan harto trabajo.

(*Comedias nuevas escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España, Parte* 45. Madrid, 1679. Joseph Fernandez de Buendia. Bib. Nac. Madrid, R 22698-701.)

Act I.

News has been received that Helen, wife of King Menelaus, has been carried off by Paris, son of Priam of Troy. Ulysses announces that he must redeem Menelaus' honor He asks his friends, Polinestor, Eurimachus and Antenor, the suitors, if it is not time that the world should know of Ulysses. The former, of course, are very anxious to have him go, so that they may court his beautiful wife, Penelope. She is extremely grieved at his departure, and wonders why one of his friends could not go in his stead.

Dumeo, Ulysses' servant, informs him of the intentions of his friends towards his wife. The wily Ulysses now determines to try an experiment to discover whether Penelope is true to him, and who his real friends are. He feigns madness, and simulates it so well that all are deceived, except the old man, Nestor. The latter suggests that, since he might kill his wife in his frenzy, she should be separated from him until he has returned to his senses. Eurimaco intimates that she should stay at his house, to which Penelope replies that she will not leave her husband's side until he is covered by a gravestone. Nestor is of the opinion that they should kill Ulysses' son Telemachus. At this Ulysses rebels, and proclaims that his madness is only feigned. Nestor explains that he had resorted to such measures only to ascertain if Ulysses were really insane, prompted only by the great friendship he bore him. Ulysses is now convinced that he knows his true friends, and that Penelope is faithful to him.

Leaving Laertes, his father, as governor of his household, Ulysses sets forth on his long travels.

Act II.

Many years have now elapsed, and the great voyager, weary from many journeys, has been cast upon a strange shore. He is entertained by the King of the country to whom he relates his adventures. Ulysses tells the King about the taking of Troy, and then goes on to describe his own travels and adventures; the Isle of the Lotus-Eaters; his adventures with one-eyed Polyphemus; with Circe, who changed his companions into beasts; the long time he spent in the company of Calypso; and lastly, the ship made by himself in which he had been tossed by the storm upon the King's hospitable shores.

During Ulysses' long absence of twenty years, the suitors make every attempt to induce Penelope to betray her absent spouse, but she remains steadfast and true, preferring to lose her life rather than yield.

When the wandering husband finally returns, he is overjoyed to learn from Palas that Penelope's honor is without stain. He then meets Telemachus, who has been driven from the house by the suitors, and who is anxious to help to avenge his father. Ulysses pretends that he is only a friend of the boy's father, and to test the youth's ability to endure pain, grasps his hand in a vice-like grip. The lad does not wince, and returns the pressure with interest. Ulysses is convinced of his son's strength and ability to avenge him, and he is furthermore pleased when he hears Telemachus say that he believes in deeds and not in words.

Act III.

On entering the house, Ulysses finds that the suitors have taken possession of everything. They have told Penelope

that she must choose one among their number. At Ulysses' suggestion, they agree to wait till the morrow for their answer. All laugh at the grey-haired old traveller who claims to be a friend of Penelope's husband.

Penelope's allows him to sleep in the absent one's room. In the early morning, he finds Telemachus standing on guard with drawn sword at Penelope's door, and has great difficulty in persuading the lad that he is his father.

The suitors return for their reply, and Penelope is ready to receive them. In her hand she holds a huge bow, and she promises to belong to the one who can bend the bow and shoot an arrow.

Each, in turn, makes a mighty effort, but without the slightest success. When the hoary Ulysses grasps the bow, they shout with laughter. On asking them whom they should judge him to be if he can subdue the stubborn weapon, they answer, " Jupiter or Ulysses ". He bends the bow, then despatches the suitors, one by one, much to the delight of Dumeo.

Penelope expresses the hope that the weary and travel-worn Ulysses may pass the remainder of his days in the undisturbed peace of his home and family.

COLLABORATIONS

A un tiempo Rey y Vasallo

by

1st Act, Manuel Antonio de Vargas,
2nd Act, Author unknown,
3rd Act, Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez.

Be. **Déjame, Silvia, morir**
que pues un amante pierdo

para quién quise la vida
para qué la vida quiero ?
. . . . . .
ALB. Y aquí tres humildes plumas
indignas de vuestro aplauso
la semejanza os divujan
de rey a un tiempo y vasallo.

(Bib. Nac. Madrid, MS. R 113.)

Act I.

Albano, a soldier in the service of the King of Sicily' has fallen in love with a beautiful peasant girl, Belisarda, by name. So that their difference of station shall not stand in the way of their love, Albano always dresses in peasant's garb when he visits Belisarda in the forest.

The King and Albano bear a close resemblance to one other, which fact the King takes advantage of in his attempt to win Belisarda's love for himself. To secure success in this design, the King has ordered the Almirante to cause Albano's death. The Almirante informs the King that Albano has been killed, when in truth, he is living in hiding, and warns Belisarda not to be deceived by the King's likeness to him.

Believing that Albano is dead, the King remarks in the hearing of the Almirante and the Duke of Calabria that nothing must be allowed to interfere with his love for the peasant girl, adding that, in order to remove all obstacles, he would kill Belisarda's brother, if it were necessary. The Duke is in love with the Princess Beatriz, who, judging this to be an auspicious moment for the Duke to ask the King for her hand, prompts her lover to do so. But the King, who is of a harsh and cruel character, flatly refuses his consent to such a union, saying that no Duke can aspire to the hand of a Princess. This refusal rouses the ambitious and

unscrupulous Duke, who will now stop at nothing to gain his ends.

During the hunt, the King falls from a precipice and is killed, but only the Almirante knows of his fate. The others, however, suspect that something untoward has happened to the King, but have no certain knowledge of his death. The Almirante leads every one to believe that the King is safe, as he fears that the scheming Duke of Calabria will assassinate the young Prince, and usurp the throne. His suspicions are well-founded, for the Duke is already confiding to the Princess that this is the time to make themselves masters of Sicily. Beatriz, however, reminds him that he must be quite certain that the King is dead before he proceeds further with his plans.

The Almirante seeks out Albano whom he finds in the forest with Belisarda, and, after a long conversation, persuades him to pose as the King, until the young Prince attains his majority.

Act II.

The dreams of power indulged in by the ambitious Duke of Calabria receive a sudden check when he is brought face to face with Albano, dressed in the former King's royal robes. The external likeness is perfect, and Albano has no fears on this score, but he has grave doubts as to his ability to imitate equally well the King's conduct, and especially his handwriting.

Albano makes the mistake of removing his hat when the Duke addresses him, but partially remedies this error by upbraiding the Duke for the disrespect shown by him to his sovereign. He even humbles the arrogant courtier by forcing him to pick up his (Albano's) hat.

The mistake of removing his hat in the presence of an in-

ferior is further redeemed by his sensible and impartial manner of administering justice, which is, besides, characterised by kindness and consideration. Unfortunately Albano's humane methods of procedure form such a contrast to the cynical brutality of the former King, that the Duke suspects strongly that he is an impostor. The Almirante's assertion that the King has reformed in every way, does not allay the Duke's suspicions.

In an interview with Belisarda who complains of not having seen Albano for a long time, Albano affirms that her lover will be restored to her in due time. In order to test Belisarda's loyalty to her missing lover, Albano, in his role of King, makes every attempt to gain her love, even using threats for the purpose. He is much relieved to find that he cannot shake the peasant girl's constancy.

The Duke and Beatriz have recourse to a clever ruse by which they hope to make Albano betray himself. The Princess hands him a letter which she has written, and requests him to add a few lines to it. Albano complies, but while writing his signature, contrives to upset the inkwell on the paper, thus rendering detection impossible. This clever check to their strategy does not, however, allay the doubts of the suspicious couple, but rather increases them.

Act III.

Much time has elapsed and Belisarda revisits Albano. The latter is so completely absorbed in the joy of seeing his beloved, that he fails to observe the approach of the Prince, now grown to be a man. Catching sight of the Prince at last, Albano assures Belisarda that, if she will wait below in the garden, her lover, whom she has not seen for five years, will be restored to her.

Albano now kneels before the young Prince, saluting him as King. All present do the same, and the faithful vassal declares that all authority is nov turned over to the rightful ruler. The first act of the new King is to banish the intriguing Duke, at the same time refusing him the hand of the Princess.

A confused scene takes place in the garden under cover of darkness, Albano and the Duke of Calabria being on the point of engaging in a duel, but, on recognising one another, desist.

The Almirante who was not present when Albano knelt before the young Prince, believing that his friend is planning to permanently usurp the royal power, declares that he will expose him. Albano addresses the assembled company, and explaining that he had merely governed during the minority of the King, he concludes by placing the crown on the rightful sovereign's head.

A pardon is granted to the Duke of Calabria, and Beatriz' hand is bestowed upon him, while the faithful Belisarda is given in marriage to Albano.

Algunas Hazañas de las muchas de Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, Marqués de Cañete.

by

Mira de Amescua, el Conde del Vasto, Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez, Ruiz de Alarcón, Luis Vélez de Guevara, Don Fernando de Ludeña, Don Jacinto de Herrera, Don Diego de Villegas and Don Guillén de Castro.

CAN. Prosígase la fiesta
en el eterno Abril desta Floresta,
en quien altos sucessos
tumbas han hecho de Españoles huesos.
. . . . . .

REB. Y aquí Arauco, aquí su invicto
conquistador tenga fin
aunque en la fama infinito.

(*Algunas Hazañas de las muchas de Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza Marqués de Cañete.* Madrid, Diego Flamenco, 1622. Bib. Nac. Madrid, R 10352.)

Act I.

A festival is held by the Araucans, and during its celebration they declare that they shall never allow the Spaniards to conquer them. In token of this resolve, the chief, Caupolican, gives his leaders drops of his own blood to drink from the skull of Voldivia, a Spanish general, killed in the Araucan campaign. Galvarino appears, showing how the Spaniards have mutilated him by cutting off his hands. Caupolican tells his chiefs that the hands of Galvarino must be avenged. Colocolo recites to the company the glories of the house of Don García de Mendoza, the Spanish leader.

Galvarino and Gualeva, a beautiful Araucan maiden, offer to serve as spies against the invaders.

Drums sound and Don Felipe de Mendoza, Rebolledo, Chilindrón and soldiers enter, carrying baskets of earth and lighted torches. As an example to his men, Don García also carries a load of earth.

That night Rebolledo is put on guard. Confessing to himself that he is a coward, he goes to sleep while on duty. Seeing a soldier asleep at his post, Don Garcia chides him, little thinking that the culprit is the supposedly brave Rebolledo. On returning the Marquis finds the guard asleep once more, and, in his anger, wishes to kill him. The others, however, say that soldiers are too scarce to kill. Rebolledo asserts that he is of noble birth and that he will redeem his honor, and the Marquis declares himself satisfied.

Coquín and Guacolda approach to speak to the Christians.

They put Coquín to torture and learn from him that there are three armies advancing on them, one under Rengo, one under Tucapel and the third led by Caupolican. Guacolda is allowed to go free, and Rebolledo is much struck by her beauty. She sends Coquín on to tell their people to form an ambush, following him shortly after.

While Chilindrón, covered with leaves, is reconnoitring in the forest, he meets Coquín whom he binds and leads off as his prisoner.

Crompello, one of the Araucans, tries to scale the parapet, and Rebolledo, seeing him, goes alone to meet him. The Araucan seizes Rebolledo's javelin, and the latter, exclaiming that he has lost his honor and may as well lose his life, jumps over the wall. Caupolican insists on Rebolledo being allowed to fight Crompello alone. With one blow he fells his opponent and recovers his weapon.

The Spaniards make a sally, and in the fight which follows, the Araucan leader has occasion to feel the strength of Don García's arm.

Act II.

Tucapel, one of the Araucan leaders, is announced. He is come to propose terms for ending the war. Two suggestions are offered to the Spaniards : first, that the Spaniards withdraw to Spain, leaving the country to the Araucans in return for as much gold as human avarice could desire, or secondly, that the Spaniards remain in the country, but on condition that their forces do not pass certain boundaries. The Marquis replies that the only condition they can accept is obedience to the King of Spain.

With him Tucapel has brought Nacol, whose mission is to kill the Marquis, in case the embassy fails. When about to fulfil this treacherous act, Nacol drops his dagger, thus

betraying his base purpose. To atone for his stupidity, he attempts to kill himself, and Tucapel is covered with shame at being discovered. Both are magnanimously pardoned by the Marquis and they depart.

During the campaign the Spaniards have to cross the Nibequetan, a large river, and Don García wishes to be the first to attempt it. When he is about to enter the water, the beautiful Gualeva appears, telling him of the might of her country and her people compared to his small force, and entreating him to go back before it is too late. The Marquis replies that they are afraid of nothing. The drums are sounded and the Spaniards hurl themselves into the water.

Guacolda sees Rebolledo alone, at the head of the other Spaniards. The Indians wish to kill him, but Guacolda intercedes on his behalf. Caupolican approaches, saying that the Spaniard shall be pardoned in return for the noble treatment given Tucapel by the Marquis.

Act III.

Just before the two armies clash, an Indian woman is heard singing, then a rock falls breaking into three parts and revealing an old Indian, named Maxico, reclining on the lap of the woman who was singing. The old man, in a long speech, praises the house of Mendoza, predicts the Spanish victory, and then sinks into the ground, the rock disappearing with him. After this apparition a storm breaks out lasting only for some moments.

In the battle Chilindrón and Coquín meet again, and this time the tables are turned, and Coquín makes Chilindrón his prisoner. Reynoso captures Caupolican, whereupon his wife, Gualeva, mounts with her child upon a cliff, and from there curses the chief as a coward. Guacolda follows suit

and denounces her lover, Rengo, but, on his offering to give his life to save her, she changes her opinion and lauds him as a hero.

Later, when Gualeva sees that there is no hope for the Indians, filled with despair and disgust, she hurls her child from the cliff.

Don García hears of the capture of Caupolican, and, to save him from being executed, hastens across the field.

Caupolican is baptised on accepting the Christian faith, and, feeling himself much changed for the better because of this, he begs, and finally persuades his wife, Gualeva, to accept it also. After his conversion, Reynoso has Caupolican executed to avenge the latter's having killed his uncle, Valdivia.

For this offence, Don García has Reynoso imprisoned, but he is not treated with great severity, as revenge was the motive for his deed. Caupolican dies, happy in the Christian faith.

A complete surrender to the Spanish captain, Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, is made by Tucapel and all the Araucans. Rengo asks and receives Guacolda for his bride, García offering to be godfather at the wedding. The Marquis announces that every Spanish soldier shall be rewarded for his services.

Fiar de Dios

by

Martinez de Meneses and Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez.

EMP. Entre equívoca armonía
mi oido a escuchar empieça
allí indicios de tristeza
y allí señas de alegría.
. . . . . .

AUR. Donde dos humildes plumas
segunda parte os ofrecen,
del más glorioso martirio,
que vió entre luzes ardientes
esse luminar hermoso
que sobre cristales duerme.

(*Comedias nuevas escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España. Parte* 26. Francisco Nieto, 1666. Bib. Nac. Madrid, R 22679.)

Act I.

As a reward for a splendid victory, Placido receives from Trajan the hand of the Emperor's niece, Teodora. Adriano, once a friend of the victor, is humiliated by the latter's triumph. He has been unsuccessful in all his own undertakings, and, in a vengeful mood, determines to seek, by every means, to bring about his rival's downfall.

He first endeavours to pay court to the virtuous Teodora, but she repels his advances with disdain. Placido overhears this attempt and is much pleased by her treatment of him. The rivals agree to meet in the forest, where they will have a duel to the death.

Placido, entering the forest before his enemy, hears a noise which he supposes to be Adriano, but on turning around, he sees a huge deer with a crucifix in its antlers. He is astounded at the sight, but when the deer disappears, he is overcome by a feeling of great weariness and fatigue. He realises that the cross symbolises the new faith, and confesses the Christ.

Act II.

Placido attempts, in vain, to convert Teodora to the new faith. Through his acceptance of Christianity, he and his

wife, who, in spite of her unbelief, still remains true to him, find themselves reduced to the direst poverty. Placido, who has changed his name to Estacio, prays God to cause Teodora to become converted, knowing that then she would consider her poverty a great privilege.

The faith of the convert is subjected to still severer tests. His wife is captured by a terrible Corsair, and carried away in his ship. Bowed down by grief, Placido ascends a mountain, and there a fierce lion makes off with his eldest child, and while he is lamenting this calamity, a bear seizes the youngest. Like Job, he has lost wealth, wife and children, and he turns to the God he has accepted for consolation.

The Corsair attempts to bend Teodora to his will, at first by persuasion, and then by force. Teodora prays vainly to the Roman gods for help in her sad plight, and in her despair, she turns to the God of her husband for help. Immediately she finds herself lifted into the air, the Corsair remaining bound to a high rock.

Act III.

The shepherds, Leonido and Urson, are about to fight one another over a shepherdess who has lately come to live in the village. A third shepherd, Floro, stops the quarrel. Adriano, accompanied by soldiers, appears on the scene, and addressing Floro, he tells him of the terrible pirate who infests the seas, and whom only Estacio would be capable of subduing. Finding that the great name is unknown there, he departs to continue his search, declaring that he will leave no stone unturned until he finds Estacio.

Teodora, who has become a Christian and has assumed the name of Laura, is much amused by the two shepherds,

Leonido and Urson. On their departure for the war they both take leave of her, declaring that their love for her is more akin to reverence than to passion.

Adriano at length meets Estacio, and invests him with armor. Thus accoutred, Adriano notices the resemblance Estacio bears to Placido, as he saw him on his return from the Persian wars. Placido has recognised Adriano immediately. The boys, Leonido and Urson, entreat Placido to allow them to join the army. The latter admires their fine spirit, and they remind him of what his own two sons would have been, had not the wild beasts carried them away. He commands them to march always at his side, and the army marches off amid cries of, " Viva Estacio, Viva Estacio! "

The battle against the terrible Corsair is about to take place. Floro, the shepherd, is greatly distressed that the boys should take part in the struggle. Remarking his trouble, Placido asks Floro if the boys are his sons, and receives the reply that they are not, but that he has brought them up from childhood, having rescued one from a lion, and the other from a bear. By this, Placido realises that they are, in reality, his own sons.

Placido encounters the Corsair and conquers him, but spares his life when he learns that he has been bereft of his wife by a storm. Estacio is acclaimed conqueror by his countrymen.

The Emperor approaches, bringing with him Teodora, whom he has just seen in the village. Placido discloses his identity to the Emperor, and Teodora is reunited to her husband and sons, Placido declaring that they owe all their happiness to Heaven.

The Emperor gives the command that the army, crowned with laurel should march to Rome.

El Hamete de Toledo

by

Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez

and

D. Antonio Martínez.

RUST. No se ha visto con luzes mas hermosas
sobre tapetes de açucena, y rosas
la Aurora coronada de claveles.
. . . . . .
BAT. Y aquí Senado con esto,
Las dos plumas ponen fin
al Hamete de Toledo.

(*Comedias escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España. Primera Parte*. Madrid, 1652. Juan de San Vicente, Mercader de libros. Bib. Nac. Madrid, R 22654.)

Act I.

Hamete confides to a friend his sorrow over the loss of his beloved Argelina who has been captured by the Spaniards. In the battle which follows, Hamete, wounded, but still fighting bravely, is taken prisoner by the Christians, and carried away to Spain.

The scene changes from Africa to Toledo. Gaspar and Leonor, his wife, who are very much in love with one another, speak of the Moorish slave-girl, Argelina, who has been serving them for a long time. Leonor remarks that she is very fond of Argelina, and often feigns some pretext to have her come and talk to her. Gaspar announces that his uncle, Don Fernando, is also bringing back a Moorish slave with him.

Don Fernando returns, bringing the slave, who is none

other than Hamete. He meets Argelina who tells him that although she had once loved him, his neglect in not seeking her, has caused her to wish to forget him.

Act II.

Argelina is thrown from a *burro*, and is picked up by Hamete, and carried for some distance in his arms. When she shows him that she has been slightly scratched in her fall by some bamboo, Hamete tears up all the bamboo in sight. In so doing, his own hands are torn, and Argelina, unable to conceal her real feelings for him, shows great concern, but, in spite of this, she maintains that she is indifferent to him.

Leonor summons Argelina so that she may tell her of a jealous dream she has had. In her sleep she saw two turtle doves, one of which was stolen by another dove, which turned out to be Argelina, the faithless one being her husband. The recital of her dream reawakens all Leonor's jealousy, and in her anger she strikes Argelina. At this, Hamete comes upon the scene, and Leonor explains her action. The result is that Argelina, by concealing her love for Hamete has roused jealousy in two breasts.

The servant, Bato, dresses as a Moor in the hope of making a favorable impression on Argelina, whom he has long attempted to woo, but Hamete gives him such a beating that he abjures the Koran. On his departure, Argelina tells Hamete of all she has had to undergo during the three long years they have been separated.

Hamete belongs to the family of the Berenajes and she to that of the Azaques. They used to carry on their courtship in her garden to which she admitted him by unlocking the gate herself. One night a rival came and was killed by Hamete, while Argelina, in her fright, ran out of the garden,

and was captured by some Christians, and carried from Africa to Cartagena in Spain. Don Gaspar bought her as a slave, taking her to Toledo, where she has served the family since. She blames Hamete for his absence and neglect during those three years, and reiterates that her love for him has been killed. She will listen to no explanations from him and Hamete, in his anger, tears down the nest of a pair of nightingales, their happiness being an offence to him. When Fernando sees this outburst, he orders Hamete into the house, saying that he regrets having brought him with him.

Some time later, Fernando explains, in the hearing of Argelina, that for three years Hamete had been a pirate off the coast of Spain. Though of noble blood, he had done this for the purpose of seeking some one he loved but whose name he had never revealed. At last the girl understands that she has not been neglected.

At her next meeting with Hamete, she confesses her love for him, at the same time cautioning him that they must not be seen together as this might cause their separation.

When Leonor appears at this moment and asks Argelina to light a candle, the latter, in order that Hamete may not be seen in her company, sends him into Gaspar's room. Unfortunately, he is seen coming out of the room, and Don Gaspar threatens to beat him, but Leonor restrains her husband, and Hamete reminds him that he is of noble birth.

Gaspar, realising that Leonor is jealous of Argelina, decides to sell the Moorish girl the next day.

Act III.

On second thoughts, Gaspar makes up his mind to use a little strategy to find out the real state of the feelings of the two slaves. He announces that he is to send Argelina away

for a few days, and, pretending that they have sold her, he will observe the conduct of Hamete. Argelina and he have been most careful to hide their true feelings for one another, for fear of separation, and when the news is broken to Argelina she seems sad, but this dejection the jealous Leonor attributes to sorrow at leaving Gaspar.

Hamete is crushed by grief over the cruel separation from Argelina, and he determines to escape from the house. He is very resentful against Leonor, because he knows that it is her silly jealousy that has caused Argelina to be sent away. Finding that the door by which he intends to escape is locked, he vows that he will go by way of Leonor's room, and that he will kill her if he sees her. He fulfills his threat, not only against her, but he stabs her baby as well. She expires in her husband's arms, assuring him of her love with her dying breath.

Hamete hides in a tower, but is finally captured. He is to be executed, and is on the way to meet his punishment when Argelina arrives, having escaped from her new master. She proclaims that she has become a Christian, and begs Hamete to embrace the same faith before he dies. Hamete accepts baptism, and just before his execution, the grief-stricken Gaspar pardons him.

La mejor Luna Africana

de tres ingenios.

LEON. O noche a tus sombres frías
más desdichas no atribuyas
desmiente ahora las tuyas
O prosigue con las mías!

. . . . . .

JUAN. La mejor Luna Africana
tenga fin y aplausos, pues

piden perdon de sus yerros
tres plumas a vuestros pies.

(Bib. Nac. Madrid, T 5154. Printed in Seville in *suelta* form without date. En la Imprenta de la Viuda de Francisco de Lufdael, en la casa del Correo Viejo.)

Act I.

On the road from Lorca to Murcia, Leonor and her servant, Cosme, are captured by the Moors.

The Maestre of Calatrava and Don Juan Chacón are speaking of the splendors of Granada since the African forces of the Moors have been established there. Cosme arrives and informs Don Juan that his cousin, Leonor, has been carried captive to Granada under the name of Esperanza, at which he vows that he will save her.

The scène changes to the Court of the Moorish King and Queen in Granada. Hazen and Gomel return from their victory, and are received by the sovereigns, Gomel noting that Hazen is more favored by the Queen than he is, avows to have vengeance. Hazen announces that they have brought back with them a beautiful Christian captive.

They sit down to table, and the King sees a strange vision; a Lion with a Castle, and in his claws a pomegranate. This the King interprets as the symbol of Fernando grasping the grenade which is Granada, a sign of their ruin and defeat.

Act II.

Don Juan Chacón and Cosme enter Granada, and proceed to the Alhambra where they encounter Hazen, an old friend of Don Juan's. Hazen tells Don Juan of his love for Esperanza, and is informed by his friend that he has come to

Granada for the express purpose of rescuing that very lady, who is his cousin. When Don Juan inquires where he can find Leonor, Hazen replies that he has turned her over to the queen and that he does his courting from the balcony. He also declares that he intends to adopt Leonor's faith, and that he will take many knights over with him to the side of the Christians.

The Queen, having overheard a conversation between Hazen and Leonor, is apprized of the fact that they are in love with one another, and she calls Leonor to her side and tells her that there is none greater or more deserving than the Abencerraje, meaning Hazen. The King and Gomel overhear this, and plan to make Hazen pay dearly for it.

Believing that the Queen is unfaithful to him, the King tells Gomel that he has decided to have all the Abencerrajes put to death and the Queen confined to the tower. To all the latter's protestations of innocence he turns a deaf ear, and Gomel is commissioned to put her in the tower. She is allowed to have one servant share her captivity, and she chooses Esperanza. Hazen accompanies his beloved Esperanza to the tower, and vows to have his revenge on the traitor who has plotted this.

Leonor requests the Queen to write Don Juan Chacón a letter. Hazen, by using the name of Gomel, succeeds in getting past the guards, and the Queen entrusts the letter to him. Meeting the King on his way out, the latter mistakes him for Gomel and gives him his ring, so that he may call the royal guard. Hazen departs in search of Don Juan, Gomel enters with a light, and the King is surprised at his order having been so promptly executed. Seeing Gomel he realises the mistake he has made.

Leonor, to dispel the Queen's fears, assures her that the African Moon will not win the day.

Act III.

While the Maestre Tellez Girón and Don Juan Chacón are conversing, Cosme and Hazen arrive, the latter delivering the letter from the Queen in which she asks Don Juan's help in the sad plight in which Gomel's false accusation has placed her. After some deliberation, Don Juan announces that he has hit upon a plan of rescue.

The day set for the Queen's death is approaching, and as yet, no champions have appeared to meet her accusers. Leonor, taking advantage of the greater liberty they have been allowed, begs the King to show clemency to the Queen, and to give her a chance to plead her cause, at some time when Gomel is not present. The King replies that this is impossible as Gomel is judge of this cause, and the Queen refuses to accept liberty from the hands of Gomel. Leonor's continued supplications to the King almost persuade him to grant the Queen a hearing, but fear of Gomel keeps him to his former decision.

On the last day for champions to appear on the Queen's behalf, Gomel reads the accusation and challenge. The Queen has almost given up hope when a trumpet is heard in the distance. Hazen, the Maestre, Don Juan and Cosme appear, all dressed as Moors. They declare that they have come to defend the Queen's cause, and Hazen uncovers to show his identity. The King orders battle and the struggle commences.

Jafet and Mohammed, co-accusers with Gomel, are killed by Hazen and the Maestre respectively, while Gomel, after a hard fight, surrenders to Don Juan, confessing that it is his envy of the Abencerrajes that caused him to invent this accusation against the Queen.

The Queen is exonerated from all blame, and Leonor's hand is bestowed upon Hazen.

El Mejor Amigo el Muerto

by

1st Act, Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez,
2nd Act, D. Francisco de Roxas,
3rd Act, D. Pedro Calderón.

LID. Cielos, piedad
que la borrasca crece,
y a los escollos amenaza el viento.
. . . . . .
LID. Don Juan entra en la ciudad
y entre todos conocido
que es Dios quien premia piedades,
y el Mejor Amigo el Muerto.

(*Comedias de Varios Autores*, vol. 18. Printed in Seville, Viuda de Francisco de Laefdael, Casa del Correo Viejo. Bib. Nac. Madrid, T 14835.)

Act I.

The boat which is carrying Roberto, King of Ireland, to England to marry the Princess Clarinda, is wrecked off the coast, near Plymouth. The King is thrown ashore with Lidoro, who is in his service. Lidoro is about to die, and requests King Roberto to pay a certain debt which he owes, the payment of which will save him from being excommunicated. The King declares that he will have nothing to do with the debt, and leaves the dying man. Tibaldo arrives just in time to give his father a last embrace. At this moment the creditor appears and on account of the unsettled debt, will not allow Tibaldo to bury his father in consecrated ground. At this juncture, Tibaldo observes Don Juan de Castro, who, with his servant Bonete, has just come ashore from the wreck. Tibaldo relates the misfortune that has just overtaken his father, and Don Juan generously settles

the debt of three thousand ducats, owed by the deceased, paying it in jewels which he has saved from the wreck. The body is buried in hallowed ground, the satisfied creditor having removed his objections, and Tibaldo, in gratitude to Don Juan, offers to serve him for life. Bonete, the servant, complains bitterly of Don Juan thus beggaring himself. Clarinda, the Princess of England, dislikes Roberto on account of his cruel character, and when she receives the news of his death by drowning, she is overjoyed. When his arrival is announced, thinking that his corpse is referred to, she remarks that England knows how to honor fittingly the royal dead. On discovering that his rumored death is false, she is much disappointed.

The people acclaim Roberto and the Princess, but Clarinda informs her suitor, that, were she to lose two thousand kingdoms, she would not marry him. Arnesto is commanded by the Princess to proclaim that no one may draw his sword on pain of death.

Bonete is searching for his master, and finds him with Tibaldo, and they discuss the royal wedding. Don Juan informs them that he has never ceased to dislike Roberto since his heartless treatment of Tibaldo's father.

Arnesto finds himself drawn into a quarrel for insisting that Clarinda alone is Queen of England, and Don Juan assists him. Realising that his action is against the royal proclamation, Arnesto hastens away, and, as Clarinda and Roberto approach at this moment, Don Juan, whose sword is still drawn is thrown into prison, and Tibaldo and Bonete share the same fate.

Act II.

Don Juan learns that Clarinda has ordered him to be condemned to death, because of her belief that his sword had

been drawn in favor of Roberto, and is much discouraged that Arnesto should make no effort on his behalf.

After the jailor has brought the prisoners the news that they are about to be executed, Tibaldo's father appears before them and assures them that he will befriend them.

Arnesto announces to Roberto and Clarinda that the Spaniard, Don Juan, has escaped from prison, without any one being able to detect how the escape has been effected. The royal couple, each thinking that Don Juan's sword was drawn in defence of the other, suspect each other at conniving at the culprit's flight. Clarinda issues a proclamation that no one in London, under pain of death, may help Don Juan de Castro.

A challenge by Don Juan declaring that he will contest his right to Clarinda against the whole world on the field, is read by Roberto and the Princess. When Roberto asserts that he will always defend her, Clarinda replies that it is from jealousy, and not from love, that he speaks, to which the former answers that he has never seen this Don Juan. Neither of them knows that the challenger named is the imprisoned Spaniard, whose identity is unknown to them.

The prisoners themselves are under the impression that Roberto has released them. No one is more surprised than Don Juan when he sees the challenge supposed to have been made by him.

A masked festival is given, and during it, Don Juan takes occasion to reveal himself to Clarinda, and declares that he had drawn his sword in her defense. He also tells her of his noble lineage, and of the two marriages of his father. At this point the dead Lidoro takes his place and continues the story of his step-mother's falling love with him and his departure on this account. Taking Lidoro for Don Juan, Roberto stabs him and also declares that he will visit war and desolation on Clarinda's land. The real Don Juan ap-

pears and offers to lead the Princess' troops against Roberto. Meantime, Clarinda realises that she has become enamoured of her champion.

Act III.

Clarinda, accompanied by Don Juan, leaves the beleaguered city of London to offer the crown to Roberto, at the same time requesting him to release her from marrying him. Roberto, amazed at seeing Don Juan whom he believes to have killed, accuses him of cowardice in having saved his life by feigning death. Don Juan departs, saying that he will prove to him that he is no coward. Bonete and Tibaldo are taken prisoner, and are bound together, much to the chagrin of Tibaldo who objects to being bound to a servant.

Clarinda is seen on the field of battle with drawn sword. She sees the valiant Don Juan fighting nobly, and then seeing him fall believes that he has met his death.

When Don Juan comes to himself he is in another part of the field, and he liberates Tibaldo and Bonete. He now attempts to return to the city. In despair, thinking that his fortunes are at an end, he suddenly remembers the friendly spirit, and calls upon him for help. Immediately a squadron appears, and Lidoro tells Don Juan to follow. The latter takes his advice, and in a great triumph wins the day for Clarinda, defeating Roberto and Arnesto.

Don Juan is instructed by the spirit Lidoro to give his hand to Clarinda. Strangely enough, Roberto is betrothed to Rosaura, who, it appears, has always been in love with him.

El Príncipe Perseguido

by

Act I. Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez,
Act II. D. Agustin Moreto,
Act III. D. Antonio Martínez de Meneses.

FIL. Juan Basilio, Señor nuestro,
a quien ya quentan por oras
. . . . . .
DEM. Aqui al perseguido ponga
fin a sus adversidades;
y los que escriben su historia,
y el perdon de sus yerros,
vuestra piedad reconozcan.

(*El maior de los mejores libros que han salido de Comedias Nuevas.* Maria Fernandez, Año 1651. Alcala. Bib. Nac. Madrid, R 17932.)

Act. I.

Juan Basilio, heir to the Grand Duke of Moscow, Emperor of Russia and the remote regions of Tartary, is extremely backward and stupid, though at times he shows sense and judgment. His son, Demetrio, a boy ten years old, forms a striking contrast to his father, as he is very intelligent. Ladislao, Prince of Poland, is also in attendance at the Court.

Basilio's father is at the point of death, but, in spite of this, the heir wishes the musicians to sing the story of Judas, and, on their refusing to do so, commands them to leave the palace. He next desires to go riding, but Filipo, an old courtier objects, on the grounds that it would not be proper to do so under the circumstances.

Ladislao, the Prince of Poland, is in love with Jacobo's daughter, Elena, who returns his affection. Demetrio has

been betrothed by his parents to Margarita, the Prince's sister, and, in spite of his tender years, is already very much in love with her.

On the death of the Grand Duke, his son, Juan Basilio, is, by his father's will, excluded from the throne, while the same document makes Demetrio King, ordering him to be crowned with fitting ceremony, and appointing Jacobo Mauricio regent during Demetrio's minority.

Old Filipo is afraid of the overweening ambition of Jacobo. The latter, taking Filipo aside, tells the old man that all the favor he has enjoyed has been on account of him, but that now, since the young King will soon be of age, he can count no more on his kind influence. Jacobo hopes, by means of this argument, to get the old man's help in the plan he has made to kill Demetrio. Filipo, who has no desire to see the young man die, suggests to Jacobo a better means of ridding himself of the Prince. He proposes that he shall take Demetrio away, and Jacobo can pretend to search for them.

When Filipo returns from his mission, he gives the ambitious and wicked Jacobo to believe that the Prince has been killed. By so arranging matters that Demetrio can overhear the conversation between himself and Jacobo, he convinces the Prince of his own loyalty and of the scheming treachery of Jacobo.

The old man rejoins the Prince, advising him to hasten his departure as quickly as possible, as they are surrounded by dangers. They are accompanied by Pepino, Demetrio's servant.

Act II.

Ten years have now elapsed, and Demetrio learns from Filipo that, during that time, Jacobo has reigned with absolute power, in a most despotic manner, and has had himself

proclaimed Emperor. Filipo urges Demetrio and Pepino to devise some means of escape, as Jacobo, having discovered that the young King is alive, is making every effort to find his hiding-place, and have him put to death.

Filipo is now a very old man, and feels that he has but a short time to live, so Demetrio sets forth, accompanied only by Pepino. They have not proceeded far on their journey, when they hear a commotion behind them, and, on looking back, see a coach which has fallen over the edge of a bluff. Demetrio hurries to the scene of the disaster, and is just in time to save a lady from a violent death. He discovers that he has rescued Margarita, sister of the King of Poland, and she informs him that her brother and the King of Moscow are following close behind in another carriage, and that they will duly thank him for his timely aid. On hearing this, Demetrio declares that he dare not tarry, and when she inquires his name, he replies that it is " El Perseguido ".

Jacobo, who has long ago crushed the hapless Basilio, now wishes him to definitely renounce all claims to the throne for himself and his descendants. Basilio, with an unexpected show of spirit, flatly refuses to do his bidding. Jacobo, infuriated at this resistance, has Basilio imprisoned as a madman. The unfortunate man, whose mental powers have been steadily improving, sadly laments the unkind fate which has reduced him to such a lowly position.

Demetrio and Pepino, under the respective names of Fray Pedro and Fray Pablo, are lodged in a monastery where they hope to elude the vigilance of Jacobo's soldiers. Jacobo and one of his captains arrive at the monastery and seeing Demetrio, ask him for water. The latter recognises his uncle, Jacobo, while the usurper, in his turn, remarks that the friar bears a strong likeness to the Prince. Overhearing Jacobo telling the captain that these two friars must die, the fugitives know that they have been discovered, and divesting

themselves of their disguise, they escape to Poland, where they serve as gardeners at Belflor.

The King, Margarita and several ladies of the Polish Court are visiting the famous gardens of Belflor. Margarita has learned that Demetrio is alive and is being pursued.

Demetrio and Pepino are working as gardeners, when the former notices that he has lost the miniature of Margarita which he always wears. While they are engaged in searching for it, Margarita observes Demetrio and remarks his likeness to the unknown soldier who had saved her life. In her conversation with him, Demetrio compares his life as a gardener to that of a king, since every morning he surveys his obedient subjects, the flowers. Margarita answers that his speech is not that of a gardener.

The other gardeners have seen Pepino pick up a jewel, and accuse him of theft. Pepino protests that it belongs to his companion, indicating Demetrio. The King orders Pepino to show the trinket which he recognises as that which he had given to the young Prince. Since he believes Demetrio to have been kiled, he accuses them of the deed. In vain Margarita begs her brother to listen to their explanations; he commands them to be made prisoners. Demetrio says that this misadventure does not surprise him, as he seems born to be the " Príncipe Perseguido ".

Act III.

After the affair of the lost jewel, the King of Poland has Demetrio brought from the prison to the palace. Demetrio assures Margarita of his love for her, and tells her that the miniature was given him by her brother, Ladislao. Many things Demetrio says almost convince the King of his identity, but, in order to be quite certain, he decides to send for old Filipo whose testimony will be decisive.

On Filipo's arrival, he immediately recognises Demetrio, thus satisfying the King and Margarita.

King Ladislao is married to Elena, Jacobo's daughter, and when he announces that he is to consult with the ambassador from Jacobo, both Filipo and Demetrio are afraid that he may turn the Prince over to the tyrant. Their fears are unfounded, however, for Ladislao informs the Ambassador that he intends to help Demetrio to regain his throne.

Elena and Jacobo visit Juan Basilio in his prison, and the former is much moved by his sad condition, but the coarse and scheming Jacobo gloats over the sufferings of his helpless victim. Basilio's mind has improved steadily, and he is now engaged in reading and he bemoans having wasted his former opportunities of learning.

In order that Demetrio may visit his father, Elena has the guard removed from the tower in which he is confined. Father and son recognise one another, Basilio being now in full possession of his reason.

Both hear the sound of drums and go out to take part in the fight against Jacobo. During the struggle, Basilio meets Jacobo and offers him the alternative of pardon or death at his hands. Jacobo refuses to accept such a pardon, and Basilio kills him. There are cries of " Viva Basilio ", and Ladislao, King of Poland, bestows Margarita's hand upon Demetrio.

DOUBTFUL PLAYS

Darles con la entretenida, Diego Garcia de Paredes, El Valor no tiene edad y Sansón de Extremadura.

POR. Que intentas ?
CAR. Morir.
POR. Pues es remedio ?
CAR. El mejor
. . . . . .

darles con la entretenida
que les cuesta su dinero.

(Bib. Nac. Madrid, MS. No. 16881.)

Act I.

Porcia's father has arranged to have her marry the rich Don César whom she does not love, all her affection being for Don César's friend, Carlos, who is equally enamoured of her.

Don García de Paredes promises Porcia that he will help prevent the marriage to Don César, so that she shall be free to marry the man of her choice. In the meantime, this fiery old soldier has become involved in a dispute with Don César, with the result that they are to fight a duel. This scene takes place in Naples, but Paredes has been called to take part in the campaign in Milan. Fearing that her father will force her to marry during Paredes' absence, Porcia decides to stay with her cousin, Hipólita.

Paredes, however, postpones his departure because he has a dispute to settle with Don Carlos, arising out of a discussion they had on a previous occasion[1]. Furthermore, he was pledged to help Porcia, to say nothing of the impending duel with Don César. When he finds out that Don Carlos is the man whom Porcia wishes to marry, in order to fulfil his promise to the latter, he is obliged to defer settling his difference of opinion with the former. To complicate matters further, Hipólita is in love with Carlos, which fact gives rise to misunderstanding and scenes of jealousy between Carlos and Porcia.

1. Carlos had maintained during the campaign in Milan that valor came only with birth, while Paredes had asserted that it came only as a result of experience. In Belmonte's play, *El Satisfecho*, Ribas, the old soldier, quarrels over the same question with García, under like circumstances.

Don César and Paredes are to meet for their duel at a certain place on the mole, but the latter's servant, Ostion, informs the Marqués del Basto of what is to take place. The Marqués, accompanied by some soldiers, hurries to the rendezvous in order to prevent the duel.

Act II.

Carlos has also been informed of the duel, and reaches the scene before the Marqués del Basto. To save his friend, Don César, he reopens his old quarrel with Paredes. As the latter are about to draw their swords, the Marqués appears and orders them to desist. A soldier hands the Marqués two letters, one of which inadvertently drops to the ground. The Marqués announces that the message which he has received is an order to proceed to Milan, and to take Paredes and Don Carlos with him. He then walks off with Don César, leaving the other two in a quandary as to what they are to do. Paredes, in desperation, advises Don Carlos to hide in Porcia's room, while he plans how to delay the marriage with Don César.

Paredes now recovers the letter which had fallen to the ground, opens it, and reads that an attempt is going to be made on the Marqués del Basto's life. He and Ostion arm themselvse with sword and buckler, and hasten to Porcia's house, where the Marqués is staying. An assault is made in the house by some masked men, but their attack is successfully repelled, Paredes receiving a pistol wound in the arm, but he makes light of it.

Act III.

Hipólita, in her anxiety to have her cousin's wedding take place as soon as possible, informs the latter's father, Octavio,

that Carlos has designs upon his daughter. Octavio asks the advice of the Marqués del Basto, who, in his turn, consults Paredes. The Marqués is finally convinced by Paredes that it would be wrong to force Porcia to marry a man whom she abhors. His intention is to delay the wedding ceremony by recounting a long story of one of their campaigns.

By his graphic description of the defense of a bridge, Paredes rouses the interest of the guests, who, one by one, join his audience. Finally, Octavio, Porcia's father, who has come to tell Paredes that they are waiting for him in order to proceed with the ceremony, also becomes a spellbound listener to the endless recital. The story is interrupted, however, by the news that Carlos has been locked in Porcia's room. In these circumstances, Don César refuses to wed Porcia. Octavio is furious, but Paredes tells him that the only way in which he can safeguard his daughter's honor is by having her marry Don Carlos. Octavio finally consents to this, while Don César gives his hand to Hipólita.

The long campaign story used to gain time gives the meaning to the title of the play, *Darles con la entretenida*.

El Diablo Predicador

de un ingenio.

Luzb. Ha del obscuro Reyno del espanto,
estancia del dolor, mansión del llanto,
donde ya de otro daño sin recelo
la desesperación es el consuelo;
abrid; y tu de quien mi rabia fía
de essa noble y eterna Monarquía
el gobierno en mi ausencia, ven a mi voz.
. . . . . .
En Las Jornadas del Cielo
hallará, sin distinción,
este caso el que le dude;

merezca, si os agradó,
por estraño y verdadero,
ya que no aplauso, perdón.

(*Comedias de Varios Autores*. Tomo 19. Salamanca, Imprenta de Santa Cruz, Callè de la Rua. Without date. Bib. Nac. Madrid, T 14836.)

Act I.

Luzbel confides to Asmodeo that the friars of the Franciscan Order are his worst enemies. In his conversation he mentions the poor monastery in the city of Lucca (Italy), where the friars are so poor that they have only one loaf of bread to eat.

In this city there lives a certain Ludovico, whom Octavia has married in obedience to her father's wish, and not in accordance with the dictates of her heart, for she loves and is loved by Feliciano, who has followed her from Florence. She abhors Ludovico and should never have maried him of her own free will.

The Guardian with the lay friar Antolín comes to Ludovico's house, asking alms for the poor friars of his convent. His request is refused and when he insists, Ludovico orders him to leave his house instantly.

The friars next apply to Teodora for assistance, but she replies that she can give them nothing as she has only sufficient for the needs of her own family.

They next approach the Governor with the same request, but with no better success, Luzbel having influenced all three to refuse help to the friars. When the Governor advises the Guardian to go to some other city, the latter tells him that his speech is actuated by the Evil One. At this, the Governor becomes very angry and issues a command that no one in the city shall give anything to the friars, on pain of losing his property, and they are driven from the

house. On all sides the cry is heard, " Mueran estos frayles, mueran ".

St. Michael appears and commands Luzbel to undo all the evil he has caused. He must bring about Ludovico's repentance, and he must also build a new convent for the Franciscans. He must go to the convent and prudently dissuade the friars from abandoning it, and inform them that their sustenance, with enough and to spare for the poor, shall now be charged to him. The saint makes it clear to Luzbel that all these duties are imposed on him so that he will never again dare to strike at St. Francis through his friars. Luzbel consents to obey the commands of the saint.

The Franciscans are on the point of leaving the convent, when Luzbel, dressed as a friar, appears, giving his name as " Fray Obediente forzado de antes Querub ". At this, Antolín, a lay brother who is always speaking of food, remarks, " Viscayno debe de ser el tal frayle ".

Luzbel informs them that he has come straight from God, who has sent him to persuade them not to abandon the convent, and that he will take the responsability of finding alms for them. They accept his word and decide to remain. Assuring them that they need fear no danger, since thay have with them their greatest enemy as friend, he and Fray Antolín set forth to seek alms.

Act II.

The new friar, whom they have named Fray Forzado, has been so successful in collecting offerings for the new convent that it is completed in five months, and besides this, he has brought in quantities of alms every day.

The Guardian has suspicions of the real character of the energetic friar, but he also realises that at present, at least,

he is doing God's work. Luzbel plans, at some future time and in another guise, to settle accounts with the Guardian of the convent.

Feliciano wishes to have a last interview with Octavia, and succeeds in doing so. Octavia had written him a letter confessing her love for him, but this she now destroys, affirming that only his cowardice had prevented her from giving him the letter befor her marriage, and now it is too late. As she withdraws Ludovico enters just as she is saying to Feliciano, " Los dos fuimos, yo infelice, y tu cobarde ". When he has gone, Ludovico finding the torn letter, is able to read, " Feliciano mío, es Octavia ". He is beside himself with anger and jealousy, and his one thought is to kill Octavia.

At this moment Luzbel appears. He has daily asked Ludovico for alms, but in vain, though he has succeeded in making a great impression on him. He now tells Ludovico that his wealth has been amassed by means of usury, and warns him that his time of punishment is at hand. At this, Ludovico claims that he repents, but refuses to give alms, whereupon Luzbel remarks that here is some one who is worse than he is, for he would repent if he could, but Ludovico can repent and will not. Ludovico is furious with Luzbel and is about to kill him, when the latter so frightens him that he calls on his household for help. The servants declare that they have not admitted the friar. As he is about to leave, Luzbel tells Ludovico that he is wronging his wife in believing her guilty when she is innocent.

Ludovico resolves to kill Octavia as soon as possible, and decides that the deed shall be perpetrated at his country house. He informs Octavia that, in order to be free from the importunities of the friars, they are going away for some days.

Luzbel finds Antolín eating, or rather overeating, and preaches him a sermon on the vice of gluttony. He also

forces the greedy friar to empty all the food he has concealed in his sleeves and give it to some beggars, and, as a punishment for his fault, condemns Antolín to one meal a day. Luzbel then informs the friar that he must go at once to Ludovico's country house, in order to prevent a grave misfortune.

Luzbel disappears, to anticipate Ludovico's arrival. He orders Antolín to follow him, much to the surprise of the latter, who finds that he will traverse a whole league in a single moment. Feliciano has also gone to the same place, but Luzbel advises him to retrace his steps, as his presence will only cause Octavia's death.

The jealous husband stops the coach before reaching the house, and tells his wife that he is about to kill her. In spite of her protestations of innocence, Ludovico insists that nothing can save her. Thereupon, without showing himself, Luzbel implores Ludovico to desist and repent, and before it is too late, to bestow all his treasures upon the poor. This still further infuriates Ludovico, and Octavia, in her terror, calls upon the Virgin to save her. Ludovico stabs her and she falls as if dead, invoking the Virgin with her last breath.

Ludovico flees, and Luzbel believes Octavia lifeless, but the Virgin, accompanied by angels, appears, and she begins to revive as soon as the Virgin touches her.

Act III.

Feliciano visits the restored Octavia in the house where she is lodged, but she tells him that, in order to show to the world her innocence, she must go back and live with her husband.

Luzbel advises Feliciano to go, as he may compromise Octavia, promising him, however, that she will finally be his.

Luzbel opposes Octavia's project of returning to her husband, but, on her mentioning the Virgin's name, he removes all his objections.

Octavia returns, but Ludovico once more attempts to kill her. Luzbel beseeches him again to repent and give alms to the Franciscans, and, on his continuing to refuse, St. Michael gives Luzbel permission to cause the wicked Ludovico to sink into the earth. To avoid any legal objections on the part of the Governor of Lucca, Luzbel has him return for long enough to distribute his property to the poor.

Having thus fulfilled his obligations to the Franciscans, Luzbel removes his friar's robe, disclosing his true identity, and relates how he has been punished for trying to drive the friars from the town. As heretofore, he is now again their greatest enemy.

Feliciano tells Octavia that there is now no obstacle to her marrying him, but she wishes some time to recover from the horror of her misfortunes.

El Gran Jorge Castrioto y Principe Escanderbec[1].

Quien eres Palas Cristiana ?
Quien eres Ungara heroyca ?
. . . . . .
LAIN. Y, aquí Senado, se quede
la historia de Escanderbec
la voluntad os ofrece
el Poeta y perdón pide
si las faltas lo merecen.

(*Parte* 45 of *Comedias Nuevas escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España*. Madrid, 1679. Bib. Nac. Madrid. R. 22698.)

1. In the " indice " the play appears : " El Gran Jorge Castrioto de Velmonte " but on p. 231 of the same volume of plays where the play itself is printed reads " de Luis Velez de Guevara " and again on pages 251 to 255 " De un ingenio de esta Corte. "

Act I.

Escanderbec (Gran Jorge Castrioto), is the great soldier and Grand Vizier of the Sultan Amurates. During the siege of Buda, he meets a brave Amazon, the Albanian Christian princess Cristerna, and each is filled with admiration for the other.

Escanderbec returns to Amurates' Court, and the Sultan, who had come to doubt his favorite's loyalty, is reassured by the latter of his devotion. While the Sultan is asleep he dreams that he is being attacked by Jorge Castrioto, and calls for help. On hearing this, Escanderbec rushes in with sword drawn, to his sovereign's rescue. At this moment, the Sultana, who is in love with the hero and whose love he spurns, enters with Ceylan, Escanderbec's rival, and both accuse him of disloyalty and treason. By this means they succeed in arousing again Amurates' suspicions, and the great soldier falls out of favor.

Act II.

In his disgrace, the hero is befriended by Lain, a Spaniard, and a *privado* of Amurates.

An Albanian lion breaks loose in the Court, and Escanderbec with his usual bravery, soon dominates the wild animal and leads him out as he would a faithful dog. At this juncture, Cristerna enters the palace proclaiming that Escanderbec, though her enemy in war, is not disloyal to the Sultan. She causes an announcement to be displayed on a *cartel* to the effect that she will defend the loyalty of Escanderbec for twenty days with any one who questions it. On meeting one another later, the hero and Cristerna avow their mutual love.

The Sultan has become enamoured of the beautiful Amazon, and sends Ceylan with a guard to fetch her. On their approach, however, they find Escanderbec by the side of Cristerna, ready to defend her with his life, and the wicked design of Amurates is frustrated.

Act III.

Escanderbec relates to Cristerna a vision which he had of the Christ bleeding on a cross.

The hero has been charged by the Sultan to conduct a campaign against the Albanians. While fulfilling his sovereign's commands, he meets an Albanian captive, Alberto, who informs him that he, Escanderbec, is the son of Juan Castrioto, King of Albania, who, along with his sons, was captured by Amurates. His father and brothers were put to death, only Escanderbec, or Jorge Castrioto was left alive and brought up in the Mohammedan faith. This news and the knowledge that Cristerna is his own cousin determines him to make common cause with the Christians against their oppressors. Having renounced the Mohammedan faith and adopted Christianity, Escanderbec joins the forces of the King of Sicily, and together they defeat Amurates. Lain, the *gracioso*, joins them and Cristerna and Jorge Castrioto are betrothed.

La Renegada de Valladolid

por

Luis de Belmonte.

ISAB. Que dizes necia ? no quede
en casa libro devoto,
yo no he de cumplir el voto
de Religion, tanto puede

en mi una ciega passión
donde estoy tambien perdida,
que juzgo que tengo vida
después que tengo afición.

. . . . . .

CYL. Y aquí esta humilde pluma
piadosa desculpa alcance.

(*Comedias escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España. Primera Parte.* Madrid, 1652. Juan de San Vicente, mercader de libros. Bib. Nac. Madrid, R 22654[1].)

Act I.

Isabel, throwing aside the book which she has been reading, declares that she will not enter a convent, and that, furthermore, she also has chosen the man she loves, the Captain Don Lope Ramírez. Beatriz, her maid, reminds her that Don Lope being a captain in the army, and forming a company in Valladolid, may leave her alone at any time, adding also that when her brother returns, he will be very angry at such a decision. Isabel will not listen to Beatriz. but demands pen and paper to write Lope.

Her brother, Melchor, arrives. He is a student for the priesthood and is higly pleased because Isabel has chosen to enter a convent.

The Captain, Don Lope, passes by Isabel's house with his company and speaks to Isabel, who is on the balcony. She throws him down a note of which he reads no more than the first part, in which she accuses him of ingratitude and commands him to pursue her no longer, till Naranjo coming along, picks up the note and urges him to read the rest of it. This asks him to come and see her, as she has surrendered

1. On the title-page of this volume the play is listed as by Luis de Belmonte and Don Antonio Bermúdez.

her heart to him. He returns to the balcony, and Isabel informs him of the return of her brother, adding that he must devise some means to save her from the convent, and that she is determined to escape from the house that night.

Shortly after, Isabel comes out of the house, followed by her brother and a trusted servant, García. Melchor engages in a fight with the Captain which would assuredly have had grave consequences, but for the timely arrival of the authorities. At this Melchor, seizing Isabel gives her over to the Captain, mistaking him for García, and ordering him to take her into the house. Profiting by this mistake, Isabel and the Captain make off as fast as they can.

Act II.

Isabel, together with Beatriz and Naranjo follow the Captain whither the army leads them, to Buxia in Moorish territory. When Buxia is taken by the Moors and they are all captured, Isabel who is continually blaming herself for having broken her vow to become a nun through her blind love for the Captain, regards this as a just punishment from Heaven for her misdeeds.

On first beholding the Moorish chief, Baxa Ceylon, Isabel exclaims, " Socorreme esposo mío ", immediately noticing her mistake. Ceylon asks her where her husband is, and she explains that among Christians it is a crime to call God one's husband, but that in her anguish the word escaped her. She learns later that the Captain has been taken prisoner.

A Christian has been cast ashore from a ship which has been wrecked off the coast. It transpires that he is Melchor, who is returning from Rome after having been ordained a priest. He is lamenting his misfortunes, among others the

loss of his sister who has run away from home, and has never been heard of again.

There is a great commotion when it is learned that the Christian woman captive is in danger, as she has mounted a fast horse and ridden off at a furious rate. She is thrown from the horse over the side of a hill, but, fortunately, breaks her fall by grasping a crucifix. Isabel regards this incident as a sign from Heaven convicting her of her sin.

When the Captain reproaches Isabel because of the attentions she has bestowed on Ceylan, she bids him leave her, as he has been the cause of all her misfortunes. When Ceylan sees the Captain talking so familiarly to Isabel, he orders him to be bound and imprisoned. When Isabel sees this, she repents somewhat of her harshness towards him. Ceylan seizes this opportunity to speak to Isabel, and declares that he will make her his Queen and crown her with jewels, on condition that she will abjure her faith.

A wild boar is seen rushing towards them and, with a bow which has been given her, Isabel shoots the savage beast. Melchor is wounded by one of the arrows, and Ceylan tells Isabel that one of her arrows has killed a Christian priest. This news throws Isabel into despair, as she feels herself fated to sin against God and her religion. She implores Ceylan to treat her as a slave and beat her. When Ceylan instead asks her to be his wife, maddened by her grief, she accepts the proposal, agreeing to renounce her faith and become a Moslem convert.

Act III.

Isabel is now Queen and does not even wish to see the other Christian captives. Melchor who had received only a slight wound from the arrow, desires to speak with the

Queen. The brother and sister do not recognise one another, but when Melchor, speaking in a parable, tells her of two fruits which grew on the same branch, one of which turned out to be good and the other exactly the opposite, she feels very uncomfortable. As Melchor is led away, she hears him groan and call on the Virgin Mary. She, thereupon, orders him to be freed from his chains, and brought before her alone. While they are talking they hear the following song :

En Valladolid vivía
una dama muy hermosa,
que ofrecido a Dios se avía
y su padre la tenía
para Monja Religiosa.

Melchor confides to the Queen that he is the brother of the lady spoken of in the song, and she replies that they are brother and sister.

At first, Isabel insists that she has entirely given up the Christian faith, then, under the influence of her brother, she calls on Mary to help her, whereupon Melchor embraces her declaring that now there will be salvation for her.

They are joined by the Captain, and all three decide to escape. Isabel remembers that on the morrow, a great Moorish festival is to be held at which Ceylan is to give her the " Crown of Fez ". She plans to feign great harshness, and have the fastest boat rigged up for them to escape in, while they shall be provided with Moorish clothes as a disguise. They swear to do all in their power to help her until they bring her before the Pope in Rome.

The following day, Isabel orders all the Christian slaves to the galley, and thus she and her three companions, Melchor, the Captain and Naranjo make their escape.

ENTREMESES

Entremes de los apellidos en dote.

D. Cos. Guarde Dios a Vuesas Mercedes, reinas mias,
y vivan tantos dias
como un candil cuando le falta aceite :
. . . . . .
Vuesarcedes, señores, con Dios se queden,
que bailando se acaban los entremeses.

(*Flor de Entremeses y Sainetes*, Madrid, 1657. Reprinted Madrid, 1903. Bib. Nac. Madrid, T 16023.)

D. Cosme is an " indiano " with money who intends to marry. There comes to his house Doña Agueda, a lady with so many names that it takes four servants to repeat them, but she lacks money. Bringing her names as a dowry, she wishes to marry D. Cosme who has no names. In order not to go nameless, D. Cosme invents a score of names for himself. Doña Agueda's maids are all unmarried, and D. Cosme promises to find male servants to marry them.

Entremes, La Maestra de Gracias.

Ber. Maza a mi picarona ?
A mi convaleciente de fregona,
que sin valer dos habas,
hoy te enmoñas y ayer fregonizabas ?
. . . . . .
Ber. Pues mocitas, deshagan la rueda;
que hay mas que llovidas a real la docena.

(*Flor de Entremeses y Sainetes*. Madrid, 1657. Reprinted Madrid, 1903. Bib. Nac. Madrid, T 16023.)

Bernardo and an old woman, Bezón, discuss the question of how a *gracioso* should act. Beatriz imitates the *gracioso* as a *vejete*, as a *villano* and as a *valiente*.

Entremes de lo que pasa en una Venta[1].

MAR. Sonajita y pandero, relincho y hembras,
matenme si no tienen carros de Illescas.
. . . . . .
Miente quien dixere que a los venteros
se los llevan los diablos; que se van ellos.

(*Flor de Entremeses y Sainetes*. Madrid, 1657. Reprinted Madrid, 1903. Bib. Nac. Madrid, T 16023.)

Tristras comes to the inn dressed in a very strange manner and asks for something to eat as he is hungry. The innkeeper tells him that he can have whatever he desires. He orders rabbit. The host next inquires how he would like it prepared, proposing a very appetising method of serving it, but, when Tristras agrees with his idea, the innkeeper replies that he has no rabbit :

Pues no le tengo
pero de conejo abajo
cuanto quisiere le ofrezco.

The same pantomime is repeated for every dish mentioned by Tristras, and always with the same result. Finally the girls of the inn have him sit at the table with them, but whenever he tries to take a bite, some one steals it away from him. When he is about to go away he finds his leg tied to the table.

1. Belmonte took this *entremes* from *Remediador* by Quiñones de Benavente. See *Entremeses*, Cotarelo, vol. II, pp. 591-593.

When the innkeeper asks him to settle his bill, Tristras says :

lo que es dinero no tengo
pero de dinero abajo
pida.

Teresa sings the following verse to Tristras :

D. Quixote de la Mancha
y te quiero desatar
con que ahorras de aventuras
pues dellas sales tan mal.

to which Tristras replies :

Dulcinea del Toboso
pues en el fuego me das
el partido yo le tomo
como dicen, sin mirar.

Sainete y entremes nuevo De Una Rana hace Ciento [1].

Dos escuadras de hermosuras
con anzuelas y sedales,
. . . . . .
Cumplio con todo el intento
y asi toda cortesana
porque una rana hace ciento.

(*Flor de Entremeses y Sainetes*. Madrid, 1657. Reprinted Madrid, 1903. Bib. Nac. Madrid, T 16023.)

Six ladies with fishing-rods go fishing in the Manzanares. They catch a frog which speaks and sings to them. Finally he turns them into frogs.

1. This *entremes* was one of the *entremeses* written at the time for the famous *gracioso*, Juan Rana, whose real name was Cosme Pérez. See *Entremeses*, Cotarelo, vol. I, p. CLXIII.

Entremes de Sierra Morena de las mujeres.

P. Que, no sois muerto, Garañon amigo ?
G. Pienso que no.
P. Pues en aqueste punto
me lo han dicho
G. Mi hermano fue el defunto.
. . . . . .
G. Pues tenganlas ya por muertas :
hanlo de cumplir ?
TODAS. Bailando
G. Pues toquen las castañetas.

(*Flor de Entremeses y Sainetes*. Madrid, 1657. Reprinted Madrid, 1903. Bib. Nac. Madrid, T 16023.)

Paris, a tailor, and Garañon, a lawyer, are assaulted by four women with pistols, who take from the tailor's pocket pieces of cloth, and from Garañon's papers and documents.

Finally the tables are turned when Paris and Garañon, with two others, come out dressed as members of the *Santa Hermandad*, and the women ask for mercy, Garañon interceding for them.

El Rollo [1]

Entremes Famoso.

MUG. Es posible marido,
que una cosa que os pido
no ha quereis hazer.
. . . . . .

1. The *rollo* would be a large upright round stone pedestal with iron loops attached to it, and located near the middle of the town.

Conc. Valgame San Pablo
que se la lleva el rollo
y no el diablo.

(*Entremeses Nuevos de Diversos Autores*. Zaragoza, 1640. Bib. Nac. Madrid, R 18580.)

The Zonzo's wife wishes to be allowed to go out alone one night but her husband tells her that he will take her to the " rollo ". She sees the barber, her lover, and tells him to feign that he is the " rollo ".

An old man who is in love with her also, tries to hang himself from the " rollo " because the woman refuses him. The sacristan, lest the old man commit suicide, and thus prevent having a funeral with its fees, comes out dressed as a demon and frightens the old man away.

The woman, saying to her husband that she is going to hang herself, embraces the " rollo ", who, being the barber, carries her away in his arms, hence the last words spoken by the " çonço ".

El Rollo.

Gracioso En fin mujer no hacéis lo que
yo os pido
. . . . . .
Gracioso Boto a san que me e de andar
todo el año vuelto rollo.

(Bib. Nac. Madrid. MS. No. 15359.)

A woman is told by her husband that she must go to the *rollo*, so she tells everyone she sees, the doctor, the scribe and the barber to go to the *rollo* that night.

In the meantime, the husband has wrapped himself in pasteboard painted to represent the *rollo*. When the barber appears with his wife, and they sit down to eat food at the

foot of the *rollo*, he steals their food. The doctor comes to hang himself, and nearly chokes the husband.

Later they all run after the *rollo* when he gets up to run away, and when they crowd around him, he cuffs both the barber and his wife.

This MS. is catalogued as by Belmonte by Paz y Melia with a note to the effect that it is printed in *Entremeses Nuevos*, 1640. There is nothing to indicate who wrote the MS. The *entremes* entitled *El Rollo*, under the name of Belmonte printed among Entremeses Nuevos (Zaragoza, 1640), though similar in idea, is different in treatment. In the MS. (No. 15359), the husband is called *gracioso*, not *zonzo*, and the wife, *graciosa*.

There is a short reference to our author's *entremeses* by E. Cotarelo in his *Colección de entremeses loas, bailes, jácaras mogigangas desde fines del siglo XVI a mediados del XVIII* Vol. I, p. LXXX. *Introduction.*

AUTO SACRAMENTAL

Las Bodas de Fineo

LIBIO Señor que intentas
FIN. déxame villano
. . . . . .
el poeta os lo suplica
y aunque a sido atrevimiento
basta pedirlo Juan rana
para que aquedéis contentos.

(Bib. Nac. Madrid. MS. No. 14802.)

Fineo and Libio converse about the former's insurrection against Jupiter, in which Fineo was defeated, but was suc-

cessful in making the empire of the god tremble. He declares that he will yet make Andromeda his queen. Seeing Rifeo, Andromeda's servant, arrive, he confides to Libio that he is to try once more to overcome Rifeo's scruples by gold.

The next scene is in a garden with flowers, and in it are Andromeda and Zelia. The former is telling Zelia that, by owing her life to Perseo, she must pay the debt by giving him her love. Fineo then arrives with his musicians. Andromeda mistakes him for Perseo at first, but she is informed that it is the rich Fineo who can offer her wealth to enjoy at once, instead of vague promises.

She is on the point of yielding to Fineo, when Perseo appears. He reminds her that he has saved her from the dragon, and that she had promised to be his, and that now, dazzled by his riches, she is favoring the deceitful Fineo.

Fineo denies that he has any thought of deceiving Andromeda, and then follows a long argument between the rivals, in which they belittle and revile one another.

Fineo declares to Andromeda that his love will grant her anything she wishes, and, when she expresses a desire to enjoy all that is in her garden, he asks her to taste the fruits, which, by his power, have become sweet beyond all imagination. Perseo warns her that they are full of poison, and when she, notwithstanding, is about to taste them, the same dragon from which Perseo had saved her before, appears, and she falls to the ground begging him to save her again. He bids her arise, but to proclaim to all her complete submission to him, she insists on kissing his feet.

Fineo departs, threatening Perseo with dire vengeance.

While the marriage festivities are at their height, Fineo appears with a lance pointed at Perseo, which the latter snatches from him, leaving him trembling. At this, Fineo falls at Perseo's feet, acknowledging that he is the victor, and, furious and humiliated, takes his departure.

Perseo takes Andromeda to his country. On the way they see a high mountain, the sides of which are covered with thorns, but, on the summit of which there are a crown and a palm. At the bottom is a barefoot child with bleeding feet who wishes to climb the mountain. Perseo explains that this beautiful child with bleeding feet is Suffering, which smilingly perseveres to reach the crown and palm, and that he will help her in the ascent. Andromeda replies that she has now lost all her fear, and he tells her that she shall have the sweetest fruit of all, a lamb. The mountain opens and inside are seen flowers, an altar and a lamb. At this, Andromeda exclaims :

si perdí la luz dudando,
el bien alcancé creyendo.

CHAPTER IV

NOTES

AUTHENTIC PLAYS

Comedias de Capa y Espada.

El Acierto en el engaño ó Robador de su honra.

The licence signed by D. Juan Navarro de Espinosa, Madrid, 1641, is as follows :

> Dase licencia para que se reprensente esta comedia, con advertencia se le da por tenerla estudiada y haber el autor sinificado su necessidad, sin que otra vez se le admita a él ni a otro ninguna comedia de este género.

Since the principal heroine appears on the stage immediately after she is supposed to have been violated, the motive for the above *censura* can easily be understood[1]. It helps to show also that the most important function of the censor of *comedias* of the time was the guardianship of public morals.

Aside from the doubtful honor of being an immoral play, *El Acierto en el engaño* possesses little merit. The action is

1. *El Alcalde de Zalamea* by Calderón presents a similar incident, but in a tragic setting; the above piece is pure comedy, which makes it entirely different.

confused, the conception and execution being equally poor. The words, " y haber el autor sinificado su necessidad ", show clearly that it was nothing more than a pot-boiler.

The play is extant only in MS. form, though La Barrera (Cat. p. 31) mentions that it is printed among the *sueltas*.

El Afanador de Utrera.

The main plot of the play is the one used by our author in *Amor y Honor* and *El Satisfecho*. The *Afanador de Utrera* is an historical personage who actually existed.

In the *Memorial de la Villa de Utrera* by Rodrigo Caro [1], we find :

AFANADOR

De estos dos valientes, el que más se distinguió, más fama y crédito tuvo, sin ser cantado en romance, fué Afanador : el cual, como dicho es, nació en esta villa de Utrera por los años de 1550, poco más ó ménos, de padres y generación antigua en Utrera, y cristianos viejos. Fué de cuerpo no grande, pero fornido; su natural condicion quieta y pacífica, pero sin miedo ni alteración; jamás riñó con otro sino desafiado, ó agraviado de obra ó palabra; fué pobre, tanto que se sustentó de hacer carbón y otros oficios del campo, y por esto nada soberbio ni borrascoso, ni tampoco de viles costumbres, guardando un mismo tenor de vida conforme su estado.

Usábase mucho en esta edad el trato abominable de rufianes y valientes en la paz, y en todos los lugares de Andalucía y otras partes había esta gente y se andaban en buscar unos a otros para sólo reñir y matarse, y a solo este intento venían a buscarlo, provocándolo a reñir y matarse, lo cual Afanador excusaba con buenas palabras; pero no aprovechando, echaba mano a su espada, que siempre traía en su tahalí atravesado en el hombro, y con un broquel pequeño, al uso antiguo de los españoles, se afirmaba con su contrario; y era tan diestro y estaba tan en sí, que en viendo que su contrario le aco-

1. *Memorial de la Villa de Utrera*, by Rodrigo Caro, written 1604, printed, Seville, 1883, vol. I, pp. 304-305.

metía, le divertía la espada con la suya, y entrando sobre su contrario, le daba tan gran golpe con su broquel, que le tendía en tierra; y en esta su muy usada treta gastaba pocos lances, porque siempre la usabá tan a su salvo que jamás le hirieron, ni él dejó de ejecutarla como fuesen uno ó otro; pero siendo muchos, usaba de otras artes, son tanta lozanía, que acometiéndole en cierta ocasion seis hombres, parte de ellos con espadas y dagas, y parte con dardos y piedras, mató a dos y hirió los cuatro, quitándoles a todos las armas, y de esta ocasión me acuerdo yo haber sucedido en el término de Utrera, y ví traer a Hacienda las armas de los muertos y heridos, uno de los cuales decían era un mulato extremeño y muy valiente.

The reference in the first part of Act I of the play to the two men who were killed can undoubtedly be associated with the incident found in the above passage.

The *Afanador de Utrera* is one of the characters in *Las Mocedades del Duque de Osuña* by Don Cristóbal de Monroy y Silva [1]. If the Afanador occupies a more dignified role in Monroy's play, that is to say, he does not serve as an eavesdropper, at the same time he is given much less space.

The young Duque de Osuña, in order to pique Celia of whose love he is becoming tired, commits every kind of extravagant action. He has his servants strip Celia's maid and carry her through the streets, he frightens a constable and demolishes an apothecary's shop. Such escapades cause him to be locked in a tower from which the Afanador with some friends saves him by a midnight attack. This service was rendered because the young duke had given the Afanador protection when the latter was hard pressed by the authorities for roughly handling two soldiers who had insulted him. Later they all escape to France, where they are condemned to prison for having killed some Frenchmen in

1. Monroy's play is mentioned by Barrera, Cat., p. 246, as printed in suelta form. It is also printed in vol. 49. Bib. Aut. Esp. Monroy y Silva (1612-1649) Hurtado y Palencia, p. 701.

a theatre in Paris, their action having been prompted by an insult to the King of Spain. They are pardoned by the King of France.

The only relationship between the two plays is the figure of the Afanador. The episode of the soldiers is found in both, though in different guise. In our opinion Monroy's is the later play of the two, and we believe that he had read or seen Belmonte's piece before he wrote his. In the first place, Belmonte's Afanador is nearer to the historical figure, and, besides, the versification of *Las Mocedades del Duque de Osuña*, with a large predominance of *romance*, would indicate that it was of later date.

El Afanador de Utrera was first printed in Part 32 of *Comedias Escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España*, printed in Madrid in 1669 [1]. It was also printed in Seville, without date, with the designation *a coste de Joseph Antonio de Hermosilla* [2].

We have discussed the main plot structure of the play elsewhere.

Amor y Honor.

Schaeffer's criticism of this piece to the effect that the theme is not only threadbare, but is poorly handled by the playwright [3], is in every way justified. In the first two acts the hero wins his bride from a wealthy rival *(amor)*, and in the last act, the heroine defends her husband's honor against the stupidly persistent rival *(honor)*. The rôle of the heroine's sister has a parallel in the *Afanador de Utrera* and *El Satisfecho*. In *Amor y Honor*, however, the sister,

1. Bib. Nac. Madrid. No. 22654-701.
2. Bib. Nac. Madrid, No. T 14785.
3. Schaeffer, *Geschichte des Spanischen Nationaldramas*, vol. p. 430.

in order to gain her own ends, contributes directly to the intrigue.

The following is from Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos del Histrionismo Español* (Madrid, 1903, p. 703) :

Certificación de que Felix Pascual hará hoy en el Principe la comedia Amor y Honor (de Luis de Belmonte), Madrid, 18 de Diciembre de 1673.

To our knowledge, this play is printed only in Parte II of *Comedias famosas de los mejores ingenios de España, dedicadas al Señor Doctor Don Francisco Ramos del Macano. En Madrid. En la Imprenta Real, Año* 1652. *A coste de Antonio de Ribera, Mercader de Libros* [1].

Casarse sin hablarse.

The plot is poor and the execution weak. The impending duel, so much used and abused by Belmonte, is not sufficiently convincing to hold the spectator's interest. Some of the poetry possesses considerable beauty, in particular, the scene between Fernando and his daughter, which occurs at the beginning of the third act.

La Barrera mentions an *impresa suelta* [2], but as far as we have been able to find, only the autograph MS. exists [3]. The first licence is dated, Madrid, 1641, Dec. 9. The second licence which follows the first by little more than a month, and undoubtedly after the first performance, contains the following very interesting censure :

Los señores del consejo de su Mag. de la suprema y general inquisicion han mandado expurgar en esta comedia lo que va borrado

1. Bib. Nac. Madrid. R 22654-701.
2. La Barrera, Cat., p. 30.
3. Bib. Nac. Madrid. MS. No. 15527.

en la segunda plana de la quinta oja de la tercera jornada desde la otra hasta partí. Y de la misma suerte en qualquiera otra copia, original o papeles; y que no lo digan los representantes, so las penas contenidas en el auto de las comedias, y las del nuevo expurgatorio en Madrid a 16 de enero de 1642.

The portion expurgated consists of fourteen lines occurring in the middle of a long speech by the *gracioso*, and as it was impossible to read what was so carefully effaced, there is no way of knowing the reason for the deletion. We are inclined to believe that the lines in question were of an indelicate nature in spite of the ominous sound of the Inquisition's ruling. In the first place, the speech comes from the mouth of the *gracioso*, and secondly, Belmonte had offended against decency not many months before in El *Acierto en el engaño*.

Desposado por fuerza.

Belmonte emphasises here one of the common traits of the hero, namely, gallantry and a protective attitude towards women[1]. A noteworthy feature is that Fernando, the hero, is noble through having in his veins the best blood of Italy and Spain, being a Colonna on his father's side, and a Mendoza on his mother's. Alexandra is presented as an attractive and dignified heroine. The *gracioso*, Castaño, has considerable wit and is aimiable and sprightly.

This play was printed in the following editions :

Parte 41 *de Comedias de diferentes autores, Zaragoza, año* 1646. Here the title is given as *El Desposado por fuerza y Olvidar amando.*

1. The Count Ursino is particularly incensed because Fernando professes to be a " defensor de damas ". Alexandra approves his chivalrous attitude towards women.

Comedias escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España. Parte 38, *Madrid*, 1672[1].

There is also a *suelta* of this *comedia* in *Colección de comedias sueltas antiguas*. Vol. 91, without date or place of printing. *Parte* 41 *de Comedias de Varios Autores, Valencia*, without date. All of the above print the play under Belmonte's name, except *Escogidas, Parte* 38, *Madrid*, 1672, which ascribes it to Fr. Bernardo de Quiros.

El Satisfecho.

This play has a poorly constructed plot, and, on the whole, lacks dramatic interest. Ribas, the old soldier, as has already been noted, resembles and plays a part similar to García de Paredes in *Darles con la entretenida*. His battles had been fought in Flanders while Paredes' were fought in Italy.

The *gracioso* who passes himself off in the eyes of the maid as the gallant, affords some diverting scenes.

García or *El Satisfecho*, the hero and husband, is really ridiculous with his jealousy, and it is difficult to judge whether the author intended him to appear so or not.

La Barrera (Cat. p. 30), mentions a *suelta* of this *comedia*, but we have been able to find only the MS. (No. 15467) in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. It is dated July 24, 1634, at Seville. All the licences are dated 1639, one of them in Lisbon. The MS. would seem to be written in the handwriting of Luis de Belmonte, and to be signed by him, but, according to Paz y Melia (Catalogue, p. 468) it is not an autograph.

1. *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal*, vol. I, p. 571. Article by Adalbert Hämel, entitled *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Bibliographie des spanischen Dramas.*

Comedias heroicas.

El Hortelano de Tordesillas.

This piece lacks any central theme lasting from the first to the last act; it does, however, contain two passages which exhibit a considerable amount of intensity of passion. Near the end of Act I., when García, as the *Hortelano*, gives Elvira the ring, and at the same time assures her that he will find her betrothed (meaning himself). The next passage occurs towards the end of Act II. García is being led away to prison while Elvira, with heart breaking for love and pity of him, remains silent. She is afraid that she will endanger her good name if she intercedes for a man who has entered her room as a servant. The motive for her silence is trivial, but the tense emotion depicted in the scene is none the less real.

Though the events related are fictitious, most of the names of the characters are real.

The incident in which the Infanta Doña Catalina, sister of Don Juan II, was taken from the convent by royal order for the purpose of being married to the Infante Don Enrique, is related in Chap. V., Año 1420 of the *Crónica de Don Juan Segundo*[1]. Also in Chap. XV, Año 1429, we learn that the Conde de Benavente accompanied by Garcifernandez Manrique is ordered to carry out the confiscation of the holdings of the rebellious Don Enrique and that the possession of Castañeda was given to Garcifernandez Manrique with the title of Conde.

The romantic adventures of the hero, García, which form the main plot are, however, purely novelistic inventions.

1. Lorenzo Galindez de Carvajal published this *Crónica* for the first time in 1517.

The two plays of Tirso de Molina entitled *Prospera fortuna de D. Alvaro de Luna* and *La Adversa fortuna de D. Alvaro de Luna* which our play resembles considerably, are, both as regards facts and atmosphere, more truly historical.

La Barrera mentions (Cat. p. 30), a *suelta* of this play, but we have only been able to locate the MS. copy (No. 17299) in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. The play is entitled *La Gran Comedia de El Hortelano de Tordesillas* de Luis de Belmonte. The copy is signed by Juan Rodríguez Daubanzón. There is no date or licence of any kind.

En Riesgos luce el Amor.

Reference is made elsewhere to the sentiment displayed throughout this *comedia*. It is a pure and simple hero and heroine play. For instance, Alfredo and his confederate, Teodoro, could be the stage villains of any melodrama. In the last act they fairly hiss when they find that their scheme to cause the hero's execution through the counterfeited order has been foiled. Nothing daunted, they attempt to compass his death by trying to assassinate him during the campaign against the Turks.

In spite of the fact that the *estilo culto* is much in evidence, the verse, in certain portions, is exceedingly harmonious and melodious.

As far as we have been able to find, this play exists only in *suelta* form, without date or place of printing, in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, with the number F 21433.

El Príncipe Villano.

This is one of our author's most successful dramas. The construction is good from beginning to end. The growing

passion of the lovers is well depicted, all the circumstances being combined to emphasise the love interest. The apparent disparity in birth which causes the princess to endeavour vainly to stifle her feelings for the handsome young peasant, serves, very effectively, to heighten the appeal. The climax of the play is not anticipated, coming at the beginning of the third act.

The prison scene is extremely well executed. The highly emotional quality of the language used by the two principal characters, in conjunction with the skilfully arranged stage directions of the author, produce an effect of considerable dramatic power. If the *estilo culto* is largely present, it does not, in our opinion mar the impression that the poet wished to produce.

The copy from which this play was read contains actors' notations in Italian. The handwriting of these is that of the time. This fact and the numerous printings of the play would demonstrate that *El Principe Villano* possessed qualities which appealed to the Spanish public.

La Fuerza del natural ó Principe Villano by Moreto and Cáncer, contains the same idea in general, but treated in a lighter vein.

A short description of the action of *La fuerza del natural o Príncipe Villano* which was first printed in *Parte XV*, 1661, of *Comedias nuevas escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España*, whereas Belmonte's play appeared in *Parte XIV* of the same collection, will show that the two plays have some connection one with the other.

Carlos, supposedly the son of Roberto, a peasant living on the estate of the Duke of Ferrara has fallen in love with the beautiful Aurora whom he has met while she was out hunting. She has also become extremely interested in the handsome peasant lad. Julio, half-brother of Carlos, is considered to be the Duke's natural son by Roberto's wife. In this

belief, the Duke has Julio, accompanied by Carlos, brought to the Court to be educated, with the intention of marrying him later to Aurora who has been visiting the Court. Unfortunately, he cannot benefit by instruction, and remains the country boor that he is by nature. His awkwardness, stupidity and naive remarks cause general amusement, and ultimately force the Duke to abandon the hope of having him marry the high-born Aurora.

After Julio has been sent away, Aurora is betrothed to the Duke Alejandro. The lady, however, is deeply grieved, as she finally realises that she is hopelessly in love with Carlos. Just before her wedding to Alejandro, Roberto comes to Court to inform the Duke that his wife has admitted that Carlos is the son of the Duke, whereas the stupid Julio is his (Roberto's) son. Thus all ends happily.

El Principe Villano by Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez was first printed in *Pensil de Apolo en Doze Comedias nuevas de los mejores ingenios de España. Parte XIV. Por Domingo Garcia y Morras, Madrid,* 1661.

The other editions are as follows :

Comedia famosa del príncipe villano. De Don Luis de Bermudez de Belmonte. Salamanca, Imprenta de la Santa Cruz (without date).

Comedia famosa. El Príncipe Villano. De Don Luis Bermudez de Belmonte. Tomo IV. Comedias Antiguas. (The *comedia* just preceding in the same collection has the date 1734, Madrid.)

Parte XXVII of the collection entitled *Jardin Ameno. Comedia famosa de Don Luis Bermudez de Belmonte El Principe Villano.* No date or place of publication.

El Principe Villano de Luis de Belmonte. Collection of *Comedias sueltas.* At the end, *Sevilla, Joseph Antonio de Hermosilla* (without date).

El Principe Villano de Don Luis Bermudez de Belmonte, Barcelona, Juan Serra (without date).

Comedias históricas.

El Cerco de Sevilla.

In the main, this is a dramatisation of Belmonte's long poem, *La Hispálica*, and the same elements are present throughout. The principal interest is romantic, being the love of Bermudo for the Moorish princess, Celaura. Another element is the Monster, who also appears in the poem. According to the poem, after being stabbed by the boatman, the Monster still has enough life in him to seize the Moorish princess and put an end to her life. Buitrón, the *gracioso*, the carrier of evil tidings in the play, is, in the poem, a Greek Christian who meets a tragic fate.

The taking of Seville by Fernando III, *El Santo* (1248), is recounted at length in *La Primera Crónica General. Capitulos* 1075-1129, and the *Historia, Libro Decimotercio, Cap. VII*, by the Padre Mariana published in 1601, contains an account of the same event. There was a chronicle entitled, *Cronica del rey don Fernando tercero*, printed in Seville in 1526 and 1551 and 1564, and in Valladolid in 1555.

Mariana's rhetorical prose description of the city may have helped to suggest to Belmonte a description he gives of Seville in *La Hispálica*[1].

The Monster, a wholly fictitious character, combines the traits of the great Tunisian pirate, Barbarossa, and the Polyphemus of Greek mythology. It is quite likely, however, that some of the details of the scene in which the Monster, at a signal from Celaura, is stabbed by the boatman, were suggested both for Belmonte's poem and play by a similar scene found in the third act of *La Contienda de García de*

1. See *La Hispálica* edited by Montoto, Seville, 1921, p. 114.

Paredes y el Capitan Juan de Urbino by Lope de Vega[1]. Felismena, feigning love for the brutal but valiant Juan de Urbina, has him recline his head in her lap. She tries to persuade him to lay aside his arms, which he refuses to do, but she does succeed in lulling him to sleep, and, at a signal from her, her lover, Pedro, enters and binds him. Urbina awakens, breaks his bonds and sets upon them.

In Tirso's *La Reina de los Reyes*[2], the first two acts deal with the taking of Córdoba, Jaén and Murcia, much space being devoted to a picture of the Virgin which Fernando, *el Santo*, had made. The last act treats of the taking of Seville. The Moors in Seville speak of prophecies regarding the fall of the city. By praying to the Virgin, Fernando succeeds in having the wind blow from the west, so that Ramón Bonifaz could move the ships against the bridge. An ambuscade against Fernando's life is averted by the *gracioso*, Poja, and Garciperez. The Moors surrender the city, and Fernando enters carrying the Virgin in the procession as the patron of Seville. Ramón Bonifaz, Axatafe of Seville, Garciperez de Vargas and the Maestre de Calatrava are mentioned in both Tirso's and Belmonte's plays. Belmonte's play was written in 1626, and Tirso's was not printed until 1634, but we have no means of knowing when the latter was composed. Aside from this question, the treatment of the theme is so different, that we do not believe that they could have had any connection with one another.

In the *Introduction* to *Comedias de Tirso de Molina*, Vol. I, p. LXIII, Cotarelo y Mori mentions a *suelta* imitation of Tirso's *Reyna de los Reyes*, entitled *La Mejor Luz de Sevilla, Nuestra Señora de los Reyes*, by a Sevillian poet, D. Jeronimo Guideja y Quiroga.

1. This play was composed in 1600.

2. *Segunda Parte de Tirso de Molina*. Madrid, 1636. See F. Cotarelo, *Comedias de Tirso de Molina*, vol. II (N. Bib. Aut. Esp.), p. XXXIV.

Our play, *El Cerco de Sevilla*, exists only in MS. as far as we have been able to find (No. 15149) in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. There are two licences, both dated 1626. The manuscript is in the handwriting of different persons, but the names of the *dramatis personae* appear to be in the handwriting of Belmonte. Though La Barrera makes no mention of this play, we do not believe there is any question as to Belmonte's authorship of the same.

There exists a MS. (No. 16610, Bib. Nac. Madrid.) entitled, *Cerco y Libertad de Sevilla por el Rey Don Fernando el Santo.* At the end appears the following :

A gloria de Dios se representó en Valladolid por Villegas autor de comedias a de 1595. Es de Luisde Benavides. Este original sola corrección de la santa madre yglesia.

El Conde de Fuentes.

The best character in the play is the *gracioso*, Gonzalo, whose burlesque humor must have been appreciated by the public of the time. The scene which takes place in the first act between Doña Juana and Doña Leonor is interesting since it contains both humor and a certain amount of realism. As a play, however, the piece is not very forceful and lacks interest, there being no central theme of conflict to make it a drama in the real sense of the term.

The Conde de Fuentes appears in Lope de Vega's *Pobreza no es vileza*[1]. Lope's play, the scene of which is laid in Flanders, gives an unimportant rôle to the Conde de Fuentes, whereas in Belmonte's, he is the leading character

If Belmonte's piece lacks dramatic interest, it is, nevertheless, a faithful chronicle of historical events. The English

1. *Parte XIX de Lope de Vega*, 1623.

attack on Lisbon took place in 1589, the pretender, Don Antonio, Prior de Ocrato, having sought aid at the English Court. The Archduke and Cardinal Albert was Philip II's Governor of Portugal at the time. The English army was defeated and forced to retreat [1].

The Conde de Fuentes, Pedro Enriques de Acevedo, was born in 1526 2nd died in 1610 [2].

La Barrera mentions a *suelta* of the above *comedia*, but we were able to find it only in MS. (No. 16834) in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. There is a note to the bound MS. saying that the cover has not been preserved, and that on the cover, beside the title, was written, " de Belmonte ". There is neither date nor *censura* to the MS. The handwriting of the copy is so good throughout as to indicate that it may have been made from a printed edition of the play.

El Sastre del Campillo.

This drama bears quite a close resemblance to those of the same type written by Lope de Vega. Its likeness to Lope's work caused it to be printed in *Parte XXVII de Lope*, as one of that author's *comedias*. Candamo's *refundición* of the play was undoubtedly made from *Parte XXVII de Lope*, and not from Belmonte's manuscript. As this is the only case we have found of a *rifacimiento* of our author's work, for the sake of comparison, we shall give a full description of the action of Candamo's play.

1. H. Forneron *Histoire de Philippe II.* Paris, 1881, vol. III, pp. 356-369. Also Cabrera, *Historia de Felipe II.* Madrid, 1877, vol. III, pp. 341-348.

2. For the life of the Conde de Fuentes. cf. also *Don Pedro de Acevedo, Conde de Fuentes. Bosquejo encomiástico leido ante la Real Academia de la Historia junta del* 15 *de* 1884 *por Cesáreo Fernández Duro. Tomo X de la coleccion de memorias Madrid. Imprenta Tello,* 1884.

El Sastre del Campillo

by D. Francisco Bancés Candamo.

Act I.

Nuño Almegir appears with the child king Alfonso in his arms. Don Fernando, King of León, and the Condestable Fernan Ruiz de Castro are searching for Manrique de Lara. Doña Blanca meets her lover, Manrique, who, on leaving her and continuing his way with his servant Marin, finds the *sastre*, Juan Prieto, in a dying condition. The latter informs them that he had been attacked by rustics one of whom he had succeeded in killing. After the *sastre's* death, Manrique, who has observed how much the dead man resembles him, and realising that he is a long-lost bastard brother, decides to exchange his clothing for that of the unfortunate Prieto.

The King and his escort, on finding the body take it for Manrique, and Doña Elvira, Manrique's sister, comes to mourn over the corpse. When the Condestable sees her he is much impressed by her beauty. When Doña Blanca appears, Manrique in his disguise is much annoyed to see the interested glances the King casts on his lady, but dares not disclose his identity, even to Blanca. Casilda, Prieto's betrothed, is completely deceived by Manrique's resemblance to her dead lover.

Act II.

Nuño Almegir has placed Alfonso in safety in San Esteban de Gormaz.

On account of the resemblance between her supposedly dead lover and Manrique, Blanca cannot bear to see Casilda embrace the latter, but, on Casilda's departure, Manrique

informs Blanca of his true identity. The Kings appears on the scene, and Manrique resumes his rôle of *sastre.* The King wishes to pay court to Blanca, but Manrique, by various devices, prevents him from continuing his attentions to the lady. When Blanca finally tells the King that she may learn to love him, Manrique falls in a fit, which is in keeping with his pretended madness. The King has suspicions of the *sastre's* identity, but the Condestable assures him that he is the mad tailor.

Manrique is now in a quandary because of the jealousy of Casilda and Blanca, and to get out of the difficulty, he feigns hatred for all womankind.

Leonese and Castilian forces engage in a skirmish in the woods. Manrique hears Elvira on the Castilian side and Blanca on the Leonese side simultaneously call for help. Torn between fraternal affection and love, he interposes just as the two women attack one another with drawn daggers. The Condestable who has come to Elvira's assistance gives her a glove as a token, thus precipitating a dispute between him and Manrique, but, on the arrival of the King, they agree to settle their quarrel another time.

Act III.

The King of León has found out that the young Alfonso is in San Esteban de Gormaz, and, having learned that a traitor will open the gates, he determines to send six hundred men to take the place. Blanca, out of her love for Manrique, has informed him of the King's intention. Pretending that he is the leader of the Leonese Manrique has the traitor open the gate, and thereupon kills him. Having been warned by Manrique, the garrison are prepared for the Condestable when he advances with his six hundred Leonese. In

the assault, the Condestable's life is saved by Elvira, on condition that he will meet her in combat to clear her brother (whom she believes dead), of the charge of traitor which is pending against him because he had failed to deliver the young King of Castile into the custody of the King of León.

The young Alfonso mounts a horse and goes to Castile for aid. The King finds Blanca speaking with Manrique and thus discovers his identity. He orders his execution, but the Condestable interferes, reminding the King of the challenge.

Manrique's identity being now revealed, Casilda accepts Marin in his place. When the tournament is about to take place, Elvira and Blanca appear to fight with their brothers, but young Alfonso gallops up at the head of a huge Castilian army and thus ends the tournament. The play ends by the young King granting Blanca's hand to Manrique, and Elvira's to the Condestable.

The play is a fictitious and romantic rendering of the history of the civil strife between the rival houses of Lara and Castro, which took place during the minority of Alfonso III of Castile, known as Alfonso VIII. The crown of Castile was left vacant in 1158 by the death of Sancho III. By the latter's will Gutierre Fernandez de Castro was made guardian of the young Alfonso, but later yielded his guardianship of the infant king to the Laras. The dispute was shared in by King Fernando II of León who also claimed the custody of the child [1].

The *Primera Crónica General* relates the delivery of the child to Gutierre Fernandez de Castro and his subsequent surrender to Manrique de Lara, and also the strife between the Laras and the Castros culminating in the defeat of the latter. Manrique promises to deliver the young king to Fernando de León, but secretly hands him over to Pero

1. *The Spanish People*, by Martin A. S. Hume, 1914, p. 147.

Nunnez de Fuent Almexir, who, taking the child in his arms, carries him, mounted on a fast horse, to San Estevan (de Gormaz). This action precipitates a search for the infant Alfonso, and, pretending to aid in the search, Count Don Nunno goes ahead of the others and comes hurriedly to the Castle of San Estevan and carries off the future victor of Las navas de Tolosa. Aroused at this, Fernando de León accuses Manrique de Lara of disloyalty for not observing his promise to give over possession of the young prince. Manrique defends himself before a court which acquits him of all blame for his action, the excuse being his loyalty to the young Alfonso whom he considered his rightful sovereign [1].

Belmonte must have had before his eyes a similar account to the one mentioned above, which he changed to suit his ideas of novelistic and romantic comedy.

It will be noted that the original version is further altered by the *refundidor*, Candamo, who increased the romantic element by the introduction of a new pair of lovers in the persons of the Condestable and Elvira, a supposed sister of Manrique.

Apart from the printing above mentioned in *Parte XXVII* of Lope, we know of no other impression of *El Sastre del Campillo* by Luis de Belmonte.

The MS. No. R 115 in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, is autograph throughout. It is dated August 1, 1624. There are licences dated September 6, 1624, and in the years 1626 and 1631.

There is an undated MS. of Bancés Candamo's *Sastre del Campillo* in the handwriting of the later 17th century. The earliest printed edition of this with date which we have found is that of *Viuda de Joseph de Orga, Valencia*, 1765.

1. *Primera Crónica General, Capítulos* 988 *and* 989. Edited by R. Menéndez Pidal, vol. I, Madrid, 1906.

Comedias religiosas.

El Mejor Tutor es Dios.

Aside from the moral on which the play is based, it has little in it to deserve the term religious. On the other hand, we should have difficulty in placing it in any other category. The treatment is picturesque rather than dramatic, and there is a decided pastoral flavor of a quaint kind about the piece. The soft glow of sentiment which permeates the whole, is, by no means, displeasing.

In the *Indice Alfabético* prepared by Mesonero Romanos for Volume 49 of *Autores Españoles*, the title is listed thus : *Mejor Tutor es Dios — Mejor pagador es Dios. Calderón y Belmonte.*

The only edition we have found of this drama is that contained in *Parte* 28 *de Comedias Nuevas de los mejores ingenios de esta Corte, Madrid*, 1667. There it is ascribed to Belmonte alone.

Las Siete Estrellas de Francia.

Las Siete Estrellas de Francia is modelled after Tirso's *El mayor Desengaño* [1], which, as Schaeffer truly remarks [2], was conceived in a more philosophical mould than the drama on the same theme by Belmonte. By placing the important scene of the judgment of Dineo in the second act, Belmonte's

1. *El Mayor Desengaño* appeared in the *Primera Parte de Tirso*, 1627. Cotarelo says of this play, " El Mayor Desengaño; drama imponente, puede en ciertos respectos paragonarse con El condenado por desconfiado cuya antítesis extremada viene a ser. " *Obras de Tirso de Molina*, vol. I. *Introduction*, p. XLV.

2. Schaeffer, *Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas*, vol. I, pp. 348 and 431.

presentation loses, in our opinion, much of the dramatic force to be found in the model, where this scene appears as the climax towards the end of the third act. Whereas Tirso's play is composed mainly of one element, the moral reform of Bruno, our author adds to the religious theme a large amount of sentimental material.

Belmonte's third act, which is an anticlimax, as far as the drama is concerned, is, nevertheless, very interesting. The scene in which Bruno is tempted by the vision of Matilda, is extremely beautiful. The naive simplicity of the prayer which Matilda offers at Bruno's request, is very touching :

MATILDA. Yo le pido
a Dios tan humildemente,
como sé que es admirable
en prodigios que le lleve
por sendas de su justicia,
y que preservere siempre
en el celestial camino
que sigue; que Dios le cuente
en el número escogido
de los que la Iglesia tiene
canonizados por Santos.

We insert the following pertinent portions from the French translation of Ribadeneira's *Flos Sanctorum*[1] :

Le grand Patriarche & fondateur du bel Ordre des Chartreux, estoit Allemand de nation, fils de riches & nobles parens : il naquit en la ville de Cologne, ou des son jeune age, il se monstra inclin a la vertu & aux lettres : & afin qu'il fust mieux instruit, son pere & sa mere l'envoyerent de bonne heure en l'Vniversité de Paris, qui estoit lors en grande vogue, & florissoit comme la mere de toutes

1. *Les Flevres des Vies des Saincts et Festes de toute l'année. Recueillies par R. P. Ribadeneyre, Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus.* Lyon, 1645. This is the French translation of Pedro Ribadeneyra's *Flos Sanctorum ó Libro de las Vidas de los Santos* (1599-1601).

les sciences. Bruno estudia premierement en Philosophie, puis en la Theologie, auec tant de soin qu'il surpassoit tous ses compagnons, & deuint maistre excellent, en sorte que pour sa reputation & doctrine, il fut faict Chanoine de la ville de Rheims. En ce temps-la il aduint une chose a Paris fort espouantable. Entre les celebres docteurs de l'Vniversité, il y en auoit vn grand amy de Bruno, qu'il estoit estimé fort vertueux & sçauant, lequel estant decedé, comme on le portoit en terre, tous ceux de l'Vniversité, & d'autres gens de qualité estant trouueés a son conuoy, lors que vn des petits Choristes commença a chanter ceste lecon de Iob, Responde mihi ? Quantas habeo iniquitates ? le corps du defunct qui gisoit dans le cercueil au milieu de l'Eglise, leua la teste, & dit d'une voix effroyable : Ie suis accusé deuant le juste iugement de Dieu : puis il se remit dans son cercueil : toute l'assisstance se troua bien espouantée d'vn cas si estrange, & l'enterrement se differa jusqu'au lendemain pour voir ce qui en arriueroit. Le bruit de cela ayant couru par toute la ville fut cause que le iour ensuiant, il s'y assembla beaucoup plus de monde : on dit l'office des Trepassez, & a la mesme lecon il s'escria d'vne plus horrible voix : Ie suis iugé par vn iuste iugement de Dieu : puis il se remit en son lieu : le peuple fut plus estonné que deuant, & au bout il fut resolu qu'on ne l'enterroit point encore ce jour-la : au troisieme iour il se leua, disant d'une voix terrible & esclatante : Ie suis condamné par iuste iugement de Dieu. Ces paroles glacerent le sang de tous ceux qui les ouïrent, chacun regardant l'vn l'autre, sans pouuoir sonner mot; on ietta le corps du mort a la voirie, & eut la sepulture de l'asne, comme dit Ieremie du Roy Ioachim, desniant la terre sancte a celui qui auait sa condemnation...

Cela le (Bruno) fit resoudre de renoncer au monde, & de mourir en vie pour vivre en mourant : il appella six de ses plus familiers disciples...

Par ces propos accompagnez de larmes & souspirs qui sortoient du cœur contrit du deuot de Bruno, tous ses six compagnons qui estoient fort touchés de ce qu'ils auoient veu & entendu, s'offrirent de le suiure : et apres auoir vendu tous leurs biens, & distribué l'argent aux pauures, ils prirent congé de leurs amis, & s'en allerent a Grenoble en Dauphiné ou ils sçauoient qu'il y auoit vn Evesque de tres-saincte vie nommé Hugues, qui les pourroit fauoriser, & leur donner en son diocese quelque lieu solitaire & esloigné de la conuersation des hommes, ou ils auroient moyen (oubliant les choses de la terre) de s'occuper és choses celestes & en la contemplation diuine.

Le S. Euesque eut vn songe en dormant, qui luy signifia ce qui deuoit aduenir; il luy sembla qu'il voyoit comme en vn desert de son Euesché, nommé Chartreuse, Dieu y bastissoit vne maison pour sa demeure, & que sept luisantes estoilles en forme d'vne couronne, asleuées quelque peu de terre, differentes en la situation, mouuement, couleur & clarté de celles du Ciel, cheminoient deuant luy comme des guides qui luy monstroient le chemin. Le venerable Euesque demeura par cette vision suspens & perplex, ignorant que signifioit cela, iusqu'a ce que le lendemain S. Bruno le vint trouuer auec ses compagnons, lesquels se prosternans tous a ses pieds, luy declarerent ce qui estoit aduenu a Paris, la cause de leur arriuée, & leur pieuse intention, le supplians tres humblement de les ayder a la mettre en execution. L'Euesque fut bien joyeux de voir l'explication de son songe, tendant a l'aduancement de la gloire de Dieu; a sçauoir, Bruno & ses compagnons si embrasez de son amour, & du desir de le seruir. Il les encouragea & confirma en leur saincte resolution, leur donnant liberalement le desert nommé Chartreuse... (p. 307).

The chapter quoted mentions a trip to Rome to visit the Pope, which takes place after the founding of the monastery.

A life of St. Bruno is also found in *La institución de la orden de la Cartusa, y de la vida del doctor sant Bruno*. Seville, 1520.

Among the lists of plays acted in the Queen's apartments from October 5, 1622, to February 8, 1623, is mentioned a *San Bruno* which may have been Tirso's *El mayor Desengaño*, but certainly could not have been our author's *Siete Estrellas de Francia*. The latter, out of a total of 2.604 lines contains 2.088 lines of *romance*, with only 148 lines of *redondilla*, which would indicate that it was written about 1640.

Although Belmonte very probably made use of other sources in the composition of his religious play based on the life of Saint Bruno, he unquestionably drew largely from Tirso's drama.

The first printing of *Las Siete Estrellas de Francia* is in *Parte XXI of Comedias nuevas escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España. Madrid*, 1663.

We have seen also an undated edition among a collection

of *sueltas*, No. F 14785 in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, and also an impression with the additional title of *San Bruno*, in Valencia by the *Viuda de Joseph de Orga*, 1762, and another edition in Vol. VIII of *Comedias Antiguas*, without date or place of printing.

Comedias mitológicas y de historia clásica.

Los Trabajos de Ulises.

Though Belmonte's presentation of this classical theme is somewhat dry, it is, nevertheless, a well-written play. The description of the travel-worn Ulysses is especially felicitous.

There were any number of translations of the Odyssey which Belmonte may have used. The following we cite as an example : *De la Ulyxea XIII libros. Traducción de G. Pérez,* Salamanca, 1550. Venetia, 1553. Anvers, 1556.

Los Trabajos de Ulises appears in *Parte XLI de Comedias de Varios Autores. Valencia,* undated, and *Parte XLI de Comedias de diferentes Autores, Zaragoza,* 1646[1]. It also appears in *Parte XLV de Comedias escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España, Madrid,* 1679.

Los Tres Señores del Mundo.

An interesting question of comparison is presented here between Belmonte's dramatic version of the story of Anthony and Cleopatra, and that of the earliest play in Spanish to be found on the same subject, or *Marco Antonio y Cleopatra*

1. *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal. Tomo I. Madrid,* 1925, p. 571. Adalbert Hämel, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Bibliographie des spanischen Dramas.*

by Diez Lopez de Castro, dated 1582, and what is, perhaps, a later drama than our author's, *Los Aspides de Cleopatra* by Rojas Zorrilla [1]

Lopez de Castro's play is a tragedy throughout, the *gracioso* not being a necessary concomitant at the time of its composition. As far as the facts of history are involved, this author has kept closer to Plutarch in his treatment of the subject than either Belmonte or Rojas. For instance, the latter omit the naval batal, whereas the older playwright includes it. Belmonte diverges much less from Plutarch than Rojas Zorrilla, who goes so far as to have Octavius madly jealous of Anthony because he is himself in love with Cleopatra. Curiously enough however, our author places the beginning of his plot at a considerable distance before the partition of the world by Antony, Lepidus and Octavius, and makes this event end his first act, while both the older and later playwrights begin their first acts with this happening as a *fait accompli.*

Though less of a tragedy than the older piece, Belmonte's drama is much less of a comedy than Rojas Zorrilla's. We believe that, on the whole, *Los Tres Señores del Mundo* is a better presentation of the story of Anthony and Cleopatra than either of the plays mentioned, and in it, the atmosphere and spirit of antiquity is interpreted with greater fidelity.

In both his classical dramas, *Los Trabajos de Ulises* and *Los Tres Señores del Mundo,* our author shows considerable ability in handling this kind of theme.

Los Tres Señores del Mundo by Luis de Belmonte appeared in *Parte Tercera de Comedias de los mejores ingenios de España, Madrid,* 1653.

1. *Revue hispanique,* tome XIX, 1908, pp. 184-237, where Castro's play is published by H. A. Rennert, who mentions that Rojas' *Aspides de Cleopatra* was first printed in *Segunda Parte,* of his *comedias,* Madrid, 1645.

The following translations of Plutarch may have been used : *Las Vidas* by *A. de Palencia, Seville,* 1491, or *Las Vidas de los ilustres varones griegos y romanos* by *J. Castro de Salinas, Antwerp,* 1562.

COLLABORATIONS

A un tiempo Rey y Vassallo.

This is a very pleasing play throughout, the second act by an unknown author being especially good. Schaeffer, in his chapter on collaborations, classes it as an interesting piece [1]. It has existed in printed form [2].

The last four lines of the autograph MS. in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (No. R 113) explain that the play was written by three authors, the first act being signed by Manuel Antonio de Vargas, the second unsigned and the third act autograph and signed, " Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez ". However, towards the end of the third act, some changes have been made by another hand, presumably that of Vargas.

The first licence is dated Madrid, November 20, 1642, the next, August 16, 1643, in Valencia, and the last in the same city, January 7, 1651.

There exists another MS. not autograph, however, with *censura* in Zaragoza in 1645.

Manuel Antonio de Vargas is known principally as the

1. Schaeffer, *Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas,* vol. II, p. 228.

2. Cat. Paz y Melia, p. 9 : " Durán cita una de Cañizares con dicho título y otra de tres ingenios, que además lleva por segundo título, *El villano prodigioso* que debe ser la presente. " Sánchez-Arjona is authority for the statement that the author of the second act is probably Gerónimo Cáncer. *Anales del teatro en Sevilla,* p. 295.

friend of Quiñones de Benavente, whose *entremeses* he collected and published in the year 1645 in Madrid [1].

The play in question was printed in *Doze Comedias de diferentes autores, Valencia,* 1646, and ascribed to *tres ingenios.*

A un tiempo Rey y Vassallo was acted in 1642 by the company of Pedro de la Rosa and was written for Juana de Espinosa, then the widow of Tomas Fernandez and the manager of a company [2].

There is another printing, also with the ascription to *tres ingenios,* in *Parte 42 de Diferentes, Zaragoza,* 1650.

Algunas Hazañas de las muchas de Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, Marqués de Cañete [3].

The theme of the above collaboration is the history of the revolt of the Araucans agains the Spaniards in 1557. D. Juan Hurtado de Mendoza sent his son, D. García, to quell the rebellion. Among the soldiers of the Spanish force was Alonso Ercilla, who was later to gain fame by his poem, La Araucana [4], which recounts the events of the campaign. Don García [5] does not occupy an important place in the poem. More space is devoted to D. García, however, by the Chilean

1. La Barrera, Cat., p. 417.
2. Rennert, *Spanish Stage,* p. 378.
3. This play and *La Mejor Luna Africana* are treated by E. F. Spencer in his work on Vélez de Guevara which we have consulted in MS. form, as it has not yet been published.
4. *La Araucana* by Alonso Ercilla y Zuñiga was published in three parts, the first in 1569, the first and second together in 1578 and the third in 1589. Cf. *Bib. Aut. Esp.,* vol. 17, p. 2, note.
5. Owing to a personal grievance which he bore D. García, Ercilla purposely slighted the latter in his epic. See *Life and Works of Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa* by J. P. Wickersham Crawford, Publications of the University of Pennsylvania in Romance Languages and Literature, No. I, p. 50.

poet, Pedro de Oña, in his poem entitled, Arauco Domado [1], and in Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa's prose history, *Los Hechos de Don García Hurtado de Mendoza Quarto Marqués de Cañete* [2].

Lope de Vega wrote a play on the same subject with the title, *Arauco Domado*, first published in *Parte XX de Lope, Madrid*, 1625, but mentioned in the *Peregrino* in 1618. Though *Algunas Hazañas*, etc., was published in a separate edition (quite an unusual proceeding for a single play) in 1622, we believe that the earlier mention of Lope's piece in the *Peregrino* of 1618, together with its title *Arauco Domado*, which is the same as that of Pedro de Oña's poem, indicate that Lope must have been the first to treat the subject in its dramatic form. In fact, Lope's play may antedate Suárez de Figueroa's prose work, the title of which suggested to Luis de Belmonte and his collaborators the name of their *comedia* [3]. Menéndez y Pelayo comments thus on our play [4]:

> El estilo y la versificación merecen aprecio, especialmente en los trozos escritos por Luis Vélez y Guillén de Castro. Pero en conjunto, la obra es monstruosa, como podía esperarse de un poema dramático repartido entre nueve personas que detrozan un texto histórico para hacer mangas y capirotes de él.

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1. *Primera Parte de Arauco domado*, compuesto por el licenciado Pedro de Oña, Madrid, 1599. Reprinted *Bib. Aut. Esp.*, vol. 39, p. 351 et seq. A second part did not appear.

2. *Hechos de Don García Hurtado de Mendoza Quarto Marqués de Cañete*, by Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa, Madrid, 1613.

3. Rennert, *The Spanish Stage*, p. 378 mentions *La Belligera española* by Pedro Juan de Rejaule y Toledo (who wrote under the pseudonym of Ricardo de Turia), an early 17th century MS. in the Palatina, Parma. First printed in *Norte de la poesía española*, Valencia, 1616. It must have had some connection with Lope's play and the play under discussion as the names of the following characters attest: Guacolda, Rengo, Valdivia, Rauco, Gracolano y otro indio mozo.

4. *Obras de Lope de Vega*, Acad. ed. vol. XII. *Introduction*, p. CLXXIII.

Other plays on the same theme are, Gaspar de Avila's *El gobernador prudente* [1], and Francisco Gonzalez de Bastos' *Los Españoles en Chile* [2].

Our play was represented twice, presumably in the Queen's apartments, between the dates October 5, 1622, and February 8, 1623. Pedro de Valdez' company represented it under the title of *Las Hazañas del Marqués de Cañete*, etc., and Avendaños's company with the name *Las Victorias del Marqués de Cañete* during the same period. This last undoubtedly refers to the same play [3].

The proportion of the work done by the collaborators out of a total of 3.174 lines is as follows : Belmonte, 964 lines; Vélez de Guevara, 370 lines; Alarcón, 368 lines; Guillén de Castro, 364 lines; Jacinto de Herrera, 344 lines; Mira de Amescua, 252 lines; Diego de Villegas, 196 lines; Fernando de Ludeña, 164 lines; Conde del Vasto, 64 lines. Thus it is seen that Belmonte is responsible for almost a third of the play. The edition of 1622 prints the play under his name, then gives a list of the names of " poetas que escrivieron esta comedia " assigning to each the part which he composed. Belmonte also wrote the introduction.

Aside from what amounts to a *de luxe* edition of the play in 1622 the only other printing is that in Vol. XX of *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, the volume devoted to the *comedias* of Alarcón.

Fiar de Dios.

The story is that of Saint Eustachio, the martyr who lived in the time of the Emperor Trajan. There is another *comedia*

1. *Comedias escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España*, Madrid, 1663. Parte XXI.

2. *Comedias escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España*, Parte XXII. Madrid, 1665.

3. Rennert, *The Spanish Stage*, pp. 235, 236.

on the same subject which may or may not be older than the one here presented. The play is entitled *La Mayor dicha en el monte* and is an MS. attributed to Lope in the handwriting of the 17th century. It is published in Volume II of the *Nueva edición* of *Obras Dramáticas* de Lope de Vega (1916), with an introduction by Cotarelo y Mori, from which we quote the following (p. x) :

> Pero no podemos decir lo mismo[1] de la titulada *La Mayor dicha en el monte*. Es el manuscrito 16772 de la Biblioteca Nacional; consta de 53 hojas en 40, escrita por diferentos manos, aunque todas del siglo XVII, y procede de la colección del Duque de Osuna. La adjudicación a Lope es de letra moderna; quizá se hizo ateniéndose a la afirmación del Indice de Medel (pág. 69), lo cual probaría que este curioso bibliógrafo vió otro texto, que hoy no conocemos y que diría ser la obra de Lope.
>
> A pesar de ello, lo artificioso y premioso de la versificación; la austera sequedad en el modo de tratar la fábula; los intempestivos alardes de erudición sagrada y largos textos latinos, nos llevan a creer que Lope no tiene parte alguna en esta obra. Pero como esta opinión es singular, era forzoso dar el texto para que la crítica ilustrada emita su fallo.
>
> El asunto, como se ve por la obra, es la vida y martirio de San Eustaquio, romano (antes Plácido), su esposa Trajana o Teopista y sus dos hijos, cuyo oficio reza la Iglesia católica el 20 de septiembre, correspondiente a la muerte del Santo. El poeta siguió paso a paso, salvo en los nombres de personajes secundarios, la biografía contenida en el *Flos Sanctorum* del padre Ribadeneyra (edic, de 1790 : III, 74 y sigtes.).

We agree with Señor Cotarelo in his assertion that the MS. mentioned does not resemble Lope's style. Aside from that question, however, it would seem that either directly or indirectly, *Fiar de Dios* and *La mayor dicha en el monte* have

1. Speaking of *La Mayor Corona*, a play ascribed to Lope de Vega, Cotarelo has just affirmed that an examination of the contents (examen interno) does not in any way contradict the ascription (to Lope). Then follows the paragraph quoted.

some connection with one another. While it is evident that the authors of both plays mentioned have refreshed themselves independantly at the source of the story of Saint Eustace contained in the *Flos Sanctorum* of the padre Ribadeneyra [1], yet they possess in common one very important point of similarity not to be found in the history of the saint, namely, the mention of the part played by Adriano or Claudio, formerly friend, and later, rival of Placido or Estacio.

Our play, of course, makes a greater departure from the life of the saint since it omits the martyrdom of Eustace and his family, closing the account with his victory over the enemies of Rome. Belmonte and Meneses change the names of the sons, Agapio and Teopisto, to Leonido and Ursón because the first was carried away by a lion and the second by a bear [2]. The name, Ursón, may have been suggested by Lope de Vega's *Ursón y Valentín hijos del* Rey de Francia, a *comedia caballeresca*, which appeared first in *Parte Primera de Lope, Valencia,* 1605 in which Ursón was carried away by a bear. Here, however, the resemblance stops.

Fiar de Dios by Martinez de Meneses and Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez was printed in *Parte XXVI de Comedias nuevas escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España. Madrid,* 1665.

El Hamete de Toledo.

The above ends as a full-blown tragedy. In spite of the fact that Hamete is, from the beginning, portrayed as one given to violent outbursts of temper, his criminal deed, the

1. We have used a French translation printed at Lyons in 1645, *Flevrs des Vies des Saincts et Festes de toute l'année Recueillies par le R. P. Ribadeneyra religieux de la compagnie de Jésus,* pp. 234, 235. His *Flos Sanctorum o Libro de las Vidas de los Santos* first appeared in 1599-1601.

2. In the MS. mentioned the sons are called Agapio and Teópilo.

murder of Leonor and her child, is unexpected, since there is no deeper motive behind it than vexation. He was angry at Leonor because her stupid jealousy caused the departure of Argelina. However, the play must have appealed to the audience for whom it was written, since the effect, on the whole, is stimulating and exciting rather than purely tragic.

The depiction of strong emotion is precisely the leading motive of *El Hamete de Toledo*. In this respect it is a decided success. The conjugal affection of Gaspar and Leonor serves well as a background for the exotic love of Hamete and Argelina. Their conversion to Christianity in the final scene is merely the customary ending found in such plays of which *Algunas Hazañas*, etc., is an example.

Lope has a play with the same title in *Parte IX de Lope*, 1617. In the *Indice Alfabético* published by Mesonero Romanos in Vol. 49 of *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Lope's play bears the second title, *Galan de Meliona*. There is also mention of a *Hamete de Toledo, Osuna, Alonso o dos ingenios*, and another *Hamete de Toledo, burlesca, tres ingenios*. This last appears in *Comedias nuevas escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España, Vol. XXIX, Madrid*.

El Hamete de Toledo by Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez and Don Antonio Martinez de Meneses, appeared in *Parte Primera* of *Comedias nuevas escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España, Madrid*, 1652, and in *Parte XLI* of the same collection.

The Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, possesses two copies of the same play by the above authors in two separate collections of *sueltas*.

El Mejor Amigo el Muerto.

This play is simply a reconstruction or rather a condensation of *Las fortunas de D. Juan de Castro, primera and segunda*

parte by Lope de Vega, first printed in *Parte XX* of Lope, Madrid, 1626. To state the plot of Lope's plays briefly, the hero leaves Spain to escape the mad love which his step-mother has for him. He is thrown on the shores of Britain during a storm where he uses all his fortune, two thousand ducats, to pay off the debts of Tibaldo whose shade befriends him from that time on [1]. Equipped by the *muerto*, he enters the grand tournament in London, winning against all rivals, one being, Roberto, the King of Ireland. When about to be married to the Princess of England, Clarinda, he is challenged by King Roberto, who treacherously has him bound, and put on a ship sailing for Ireland. In the mean-time, Rugero, Don Juan's foster-brother has arrived from Spain, and, at the *muerto's* suggestion, impersonates Don Juan at the wedding. Immediately after the ceremony, he informs the bride that he must first perform a vow to make a pilgrimage to Rome before he can be her husband in more than name. So ends the first part. The story contin-ues : Francelisa, sister of the King of Ireland, has fallen in love with Don Juan, but when Rugero, his foster-brother who resembles him invades Ireland, she agrees to transfer her affections to him. She and her brother, Roberto, return to England with the victors. After their arrival Rugero tells Don Juan of his marriage to Clarinda, but before he can speak of the vow, Don Juan in a jealous rage stabs him. Clarinda tells Don Juan the truth, but Rugero, though he recovers from his wounds, falls sick with a dread disease which can only be cured by the blood of Don Juan's and

1. Eduardo de Hinojosa, *Estudios sobre la Historia del Derecho Español*, Madrid, 1903, mentions Lope's two plays and the above in his chapter entitled, *La privación de sepultura de los deudores*, pp. 145-177. He cites also Joseph Kohler, *Shakespeare con dem Forum der Jurisprudenz*. Wurzburg, 1883, and *Das Recht als Kulturerscheinung*. Wurzburg, 1886, pp. 17-20.

Clarinda's children. The wounds inflicted on the children for the purpose of extracting blood from them are miraculously healed, and Rugero is completely cured. The latter is happily reunited to Francelisa, and the second part ends with the appearance of Tibaldo to Don Juan, who assures the *muerto* that he has more than paid his debts by his good deeds. Thereupon the apparition vanishes.

Comparison shows that the *refundición* is mainly a work of elimination, one play being made out of two. While the collaboration has gained in plausibility and reality, it has lost much of the charm of the pure romance of chivalry found in Lope's first and second parts of *D. Juan de Castro.*

This collaboration has aroused great interest, because it was once believed that this piece was composed and represented in 1610, that is to say, when Calderón was aged only ten years[1]. The claim has been shattered since the discovery that the other collaborator, Rojas Zorrilla, was born in 1607 as even the most credulous optimist would scarcely sponsor the theory of a genius of three!

There exists in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid an autograph MS. (No. R 86) of *El Mejor Amigo el Muerto*, the first act in Belmonte's handwriting, the second in Rojas Zorrilla's and the third in Calderón's. The *censura* bears the date 1684, in itself a negative proof of its having been written in the first years of the 17th century.

Further proof, if such is necessary, that the play was written towards the middle of the 17th century, is to be found in the versification. Out of a total of some 2.414 lines there are only 317 lines of *redondilla*, 237 lines of other forms of meter with 1.860 lines of *romance*, which argues very strongly for a composition towards 1640 or 1645.

1. Hartzenbusch, *Introduction* to vol. 52 of *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, for a discussion on this point.

Besides the autograph MS. the Biblioteca Nacional possesses two other MSS.

Parte IX de Comedias nuevas escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España, Madrid, 1657, prints *El Mejor Amigo el Muerto de tres ingenios.*

We read the play from *Comedias de Varios Autores,* Vol. XVIII Seville, Viuda de Francisco de Leefdael, Casa del Correo Viejo, without date, with a title *El mejor Amigo el Muerto y Fortunas de Don Juan de Castro.* First Act by Belmonte, second by Rojas, third by Calderón.

We have seen four other printings of the play, two of them in collections of *sueltas,* without date or place of printing, and two, the first of which is printed in *Valencia, Viuda de Joseph de Orga,* and the other, *Salamanca, Imprenta de la Santa Cruz,* without date.

La Mejor Luna Africana.

The MS. No. 15540 in the Biblioteca Nacional wherein this play appears as *La Luna Africana,* is the same play, in all respects, as the *suelta* printed in Seville, *De tres ingenios.* The MS. however, in its last lines gives the names of nine authors of whom Luis de Belmonte is the first [1]. All the

1. Memorias de los ingenios
que se juntaron de hacer
esta comedia El primero
luis de Velmonte, tras el
luis velez el afamado
luego don Juan Velez fué
quien acauó la primera
empezó la otra después
el maestro alfonso alfaro
quien lo uino a suceder
fue don agustin Moreto
y a la segunda el pincel
de don Antonio Martinez
la acaua de componer
la postrera comenzó
con don Antonio Sigler
de Huerta siguióse luego
la ingeniosa pulidez
de don Gerónimo Cánzer
y acabóla como véis
don Pedro Rosete el cual
os pide humilde y cortés
perdon en nombre de todos
siendo la comedia y el
fuera de los nuebe nada
si no a parecido bien
la mejor Luna Africana
por siempre jamás amén.

censuras are dated Madrid, 1680, but the play must have been written before 1644 as Luis Vélez de Guevara is one of the co-authors, and it must have been composed later than 1632 as there is a distinct reference to Montalván's play, No hay vida como la honra [1].

Our play which has had several impressions as a *suelta* ascribed to *tres ingenios*, was attributed by Medel (Indice, p. 71) to Calderón, and by Barrera (Cat. p. 564) to Calderón (tercera jornada) y Otros dos no conocidos. It does not seem likely, however, that Calderón could have been one of the co-authors.

The ultimate source of our drama was Ginés Pérez de Hita's Guerras Civiles de Granada, Primera Parte [2]. The chapters which contain the story are entitled as follows :

Capitulo XIII. Que cuenta lo que el Rey Chico y su gente sucedió yendo a entrar a Jaén; y la gran trayción que los Zegrís levantaron a la Reyna Mora y a los Cavalleros Abencerrages, y muerte dellos.

Capitulo XIV. Que trata el acusación que los caballeros traydores pusieron contra la Reyna y Cavalleros Abencerrages, y cómo la Reyna fué presa por ello, y dió quatro cavalleros que la defendiessen : y lo que mas passó.

Capitulo XV. En que se pone la muy porfiada batalla que passó entre los ocho cavalleros sobre la libertad de la Reyna : y como la Reyna fué libre y los cavalleros muertos, y otras cosas que passaron.

The ending of the *suelta, tres plumas a vuestros pies*, may refer to those who wrote the last act, and had the MS. printed. Perhaps the publishers objected to having a piece

1. Cos. Y al fin para mi persona
no ay honra como la vida
D. Juan No ay vida como la honra
Cos. Ese es titulo don Juan
de comedia

No hay vida como la honra first appeared in *Para Todos*, Madrid, 1632 and also in Parte 25 of *Diferentes Autores*, Saragossa, 1632.

2. *Reproduccion de la edición principe del año* 1595.

appear under the name of *nueve ingenios*, lest it might spoil the sale, and so preferred the anonymous designation of *tres ingenios* or even *un ingenio*.

El Principe Perseguido.

El Gran Duque de Moscovia y Emperador perseguido by Lope de Vega, *Parte VII*, 1617, served as the model for this collaboration. As might be expected from the title, *El Príncipe perseguido*, follows Lope's theme very closely, and the spirit of each act of the original play is preserved in the imitation. Just as Act II of Lope's *comedia* is the most entertaining, this is also true of the second act by Moreto in *El Principe perseguido*.

The following brief outline of *El Gran Duque de Moscovia* will show what changes were made in the later play.

El Gran Duque de Moscovia y Emperador perseguido by Lope de Vega.

Act I.

Basilio, the Grand Duke of Muscovy, has two sons, Teodoro and Juan. Teodoro, who is very backward, has a son, while Juan has no children. Cristina, Teodoro's wife, knowing that there are intrigues afoot, tells her son, Demetrius, that she is putting him in the care of the trusty Lamberto. She also informs him that the plotters had given his father a potion to render him stupid, though he has, at times, " intervalos lúcidos ", in order to secure the succession to the Duchy for Juan. Demetrius is sent away with Lamberto.

Isabel, Juan's wife, has a lover, Rudolfo. The Grand Duke interrupts a love scene between the two and is so angry that

he strikes. When Juan appears and remonstrates with his father for this action, the old man, furious, turns on his son and beats him so severely that the result is fatal. This turn of affairs is very pleasing to Boris, Cristina's brother, who plans to rule the stupid Teodoro through his sister. Though apparently a simpleton, Teodoro sees through these schemes, and tells Boris that he is aware of his intentions.

On the death of the Grand Duke, Boris immediately dispatches his confederate, Rudolfo, to the house of Lamberto, with orders to slay Demetrius. Rufino, a Spaniard who lives with Lamberto, has overheard this plot, and pretends to be dumb. He rushes back to Lamberto's house and informs him of the wicked scheme, so that when the murderers arrive, Lamberto points out to them the bed in which his own son sleeps. To secure the safety of Rufino and Demetrius, Lamberto takes them away.

Act II.

Ten years have passed and Demetrius is now grown up. Rufino is still with him, and Lamberto, who is about to die, tells the story of their escape, informing Demetrius of the death of his father, Teodoro, and of his mother's retreat to a convent. On Lamberto's death, Demetrius goes to live in a monastery. Boris, the usurper, hears a rumor that the real heir is alive, but does not credit it. He arrives at the monastery where Demetrius and Rufino are living, and, remarking the likeness the former bears to his nephew, decides that it will be safer to have him killed. The young men make their escape, and hire themselves out as harvesters, and while so occupied they happen to see Margarita, daughter of the Count of Livonia, friend and relative of the King of Poland. To further his own scheme of recovering his kingdom, and in order to be near Margarita, he decides to serve as a *pi-*

caro (sic) in the kitchen of the Count, her father. Meeting Margarita, he asks permission to speak to her father, adding that he will make her his queen. She is amused and takes him to her father. In this act Demetrius calls himself *El perseguido.*

Act III.

Demetrius goes to see the King of Poland, and the Count of Livonia informs the latter that he has had nobles come and assure him of the truth of Demetrius' identity. The King promises Demetrius fifty thousand men to help him recover his kingdom. In the meantime, Boris plans to compass the downfall of the rightful heir. With this end in view, he sends Rudolfo to the Polish Court. There, the latter finds a disappointed aspirant to Margarita's hand, who is ready to assist him in his designs.

Rudolfo informs the Polish King that Demetrius is an impostor, and the King, feigning belief, asks him to take a letter to the Count of Livonia. This Rudolfo does, but the letter shows that the King was not deceived by his insinuations. Demetrius, however, magnanimously pardons Rudolfo.

The armies meet, Boris having a large mercenary army of a hundred thousand men. At one moment victory was in doubt, but Demetrius' bravery, by inspiring his men, saved the day. Demetrius refuses to kill Boris, but the latter takes his own life. Later Oropisa, Boris' queen, poisons herself and her children. Demetrius and Margarita are united in marriage, Rufino his friend, having the hand of Margarita's lady-in-waiting, Lisena, bestowed upon him. Rudolfo, because of his help in rallying the people around Demetrius at the doubtful moment, is pardonet for all his former misdeeds.

There is a greater resemblance in the first acts of both plays than in the other two acts, owing principally to the different treatment accorded the character of the mad King Basilio, or Teodoro, the joint authors choosing to have him live, thus making of him a character with some likeness to Sigismundo of *La Vida es Sueño.*

Lope's play was based upon an event which happened in his own life-time.

Ivan, the Terrible, Tsar and Grand Duke of Moscow, died in 1584, leaving two sons, Fedoro and Demetrius. Fedoro inherited the throne, but being sickly, allowed his brother-in-law, the unscrupulous and ambitious Boris, to rule. Demetrius, who was sent to Uglitch with his mother, perished tragically at ten years of age on May 15, 1591. Although he may have died in a fit of epilepsy, treachery was suspected. Boris sent the mother to a convent and in 1598 Fedoro died, not without suspicion of foul play, though history affirms that his death was natural. Boris ruled in undisturbed possession of the throne until 1603, when the rumor was spread abroad that Demetrius was still alive. The false Demetrius, who was either an apostate priest or a Cossack, after may vicissitudes, gained adherents to his cause among the nobility, the daughter of one of whom he married after his triumph against Boris, having received aid from the King of Poland. The campaign lasted for nearly a year, at the end of which time Boris died of despair, one of his sons having been strangled by his own partisans. Demetrius ruled until May 27, 1606, when he lost his life in a revolt of his subjects in Moscow. During his short reign, he gave marked signs of political wisdom and statesmanship [1].

1. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Introduction* to vol. 6 *Obras de Lope de Vega*, p. CXXXIV, refers to a history published in Latin printed in Cologne in 1608, another by Karamsin, translated into French in 1826, and *les Faux Demetrius*, 1875, by Prosper Mérimée.

It can be seen clearly that Lope de Vega, though he had altered the events considerably, has adhered much more closely, however, to the historical facts than our collaborators. Menéndez y Pelayo believes that Lope probably received a very imperfect account of an event happening at such a great distance from Spain.

The play by our authors has always been attended by great popularity. There exists in the Biblioteca Nacional the autograph MS. No. R 81, the first act in the handwriting of Belmonte, the second in that of Moreto and the third in that of Meneses. The MS. has two *censuras*, both by Juan Navarro de Espinossa, one at the end of the play, dated Madrid, 1645, and one after Act II, dated Madrid, 1650. Undoubtedly the first *censura* is very near the time of the writing of the play.

We have seen the following editions of this *comedia :*

It appeared in *El mejor de los mejores, Libro que ha salido de Comedias Nuevas. Alcalá,* 1651.

It also appeared in *El mejor de los mejores libros. Comedias nuevas, Madrid,* 1659. These two are under the names of the above authors.

El Principe perseguido is to be found in 18th century collections as *de tres ingenios,* one of which was printed in Madrid by Antonio Saur, without date, and also in Vol. IX of *Comedias Antiguas,* and in *Parte XIX* of *Jardin ameno de varias y hermosas flores,* and in *Tomo* 23 of *Comedias de Varios Autores.* These are without date, but there is another printed by Antonio Saur, Madrid, 1759.

There is in the Biblioteca Municipal of Madrid a collection of *comedias antiguas Tomo XV,* in which the play seems as *El Principe Perseguido de tres ingenios,* which appears to be an actor's copy, as it contains a licence, dated May 11, 1814. It is interesting to note that, in this copy, the last lines of the play which read :

DEMETRIO. Aqui el perseguido ponga
fin a sus adversidades;
y los que escriben su historia,
en el perdon de sus yerros
vuestra piedad reconozcan.

are pasted over and replaced by the following in handwriting:

DEMETRIO. Y aqui el perseguido ponga fin
a sus adversidades
para que sirva su historia
de exemplo de los que tiranos
osan usurpar coronas.

This undoubtedly refers to the restoration of Ferdinand VII to the throne of Spain after Vittoria, when the French were driven across the Pyrenees, and the star of Napoleon, the usurper, was on the wane.

The Biblioteca Nacional possesses a *suelta* ascribing this play to Montalván [1].

DOUBTFUL PLAYS

Darles con la entretenida (Diego García de Paredes) ó el Valor no tiene edad y Sansón de Extremadura.

Although this play has been attributed by some to Luis Vélez de Guevara, we believe that the proof is chiefly in Luis de Belmonte's favor [2].

1. *Revue Hispanique*, vol. XXVI, 1912, p. 448. *Life and Dramatic works of Doctor Juan Pérez de Montalván.* G. W. Bacon.

2. *Revue Hispanique*, vol. XXVI, 1912, G. W. Bacon. *The life and dramatic works of Doctor Juan Pérez de Montalván*, p. 441. Diego García de Paredes is attributed by Ticknor to Montalván; by Schaeffer to Luis Vélez de Guevara. A *suelta* without date or place of publication, in the Ticknor collection names Luis Vélez as author, an ascription in which Durán concurs. With the title *Darles con la entre-*

In our opinion, the style bears a closer resemblance to Belmonte's manner than it does to Vélez's. The treatment of García de Paredes is the same as that accorded to Ribas in *El Satisfecho* and to the Conde de Fuentes in the play by that name. Those men make good character studies as bluff old soldiers. In each case, they are more skilfully portrayed than the plot of the play is handled. Belmonte has drawn a realistic picture of the old soldier, the kind of man he had seen in America and Spain. Vélez's brave man is superhuman in his courage; he would fight the wind or death itself. In proportion as he is less true to life than Belmonte's, he is, at the same time, a much more dramatic and arresting figure.

The plot, with its impending duel which never takes place, is also typical of Belmonte. There are, besides, many other features which are common to our author.

Let us now consider the MSS. as well as a printed edition which is in the British Museum [1].

MS. No. 16881 entitled *Darles con la entretenida*, of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, has at the beginning of every act, " de Luis de Belmonte", and at the beginning of Acts I and III, " de Luis de Belmonte" with the date 1636 next to his name. There is no *censura*.

MS. No. 14871, entitled *Diego García de Paredes*, of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, is the same play throughout, except that two lines are added :

> Todos. Con eso damos fin
> Perdonadnos nuestros yerros.

tenida, the drama is attributed to Belmonte in part thirty-one of *Las mejores Comedias que hasta oy han salido*, Barcelona, 1638; and Sánchez-Arjona concurs in this ascription. It does not read like Montalván's work.

1. No. 11725. d. 12. British Museum Library. This edition is also described by Barrera, Cat., p. 685.

This MS. from the style of handwriting and the comparative newness of the paper, appears a much later copy. At the end is added, " Autor Luis Vélez de Guevara ". There is no *censura* nor date of any kind.

Parte 31 of *Mejores Comedias que hasta oy han salido*, 1638. *En Barcelona. En la Imprenta de Jayme Romen, delante de Santiago*, ends with the words, *dalles con la entretenida / que les cuesta su dinero*, which are also the concluding lines of MS. No. 16881, the older of the two MSS. Besides the date of *Parte* 31, 1638 is only two years later than the date of the above mentioned MS.

Darles con la entretenida is preceded by three plays of Lope de Vega in which the figure of García de Paredes appears. They are, in their order of composition: *El Blasón de los Chaves de Villalba*, written in August, 1599, and printed with some slight changes in *Parte X* of Lope, 1618; *La Contienda de Diego García de Paredes y el Capitan Juan de Urbina*, autograph MS. dated Madrid, Feb. 15, 1600, with two licences in Jaén in 1614 and unedited till 1900; *Las Cuentas del Gran Capitán*, printed in *Parte* 23 *(póstuma de Lope de Vega)*, 1638. Menéndez y Pelayo classes the latter as one of the *comedias* of Lope's last years. All three appear in *Obras de Lope de Vega, Madrid*, 1900, with an introduction by Menéndez y Pelayo.

In the first of the above, García de Paredes has not a very important part, as he appears only once in each of the first two acts. In Act I he is presented as a patriotic soldier who resents any insult to Spain or the *Gran Capitán*, and in Act II he is made to praise Chaves of Trujillo to his great leader.

In *La Contienda de García de Paredes y el Capitán Juan de Urbina*, Paredes occupies the first place. The whole field of the hero's exploits is covered; his early escapades, *valentías*, killings, love-affairs, and later, his feats in arms and

vociferous patriotism, reaching finally the contest between him and Juan de Urbina, each one recounting his history and deeds. The Marqués del Basto is present at this contest which occurs in the third act.

The García de Paredes who appears in *Las Cuentas del Grán Capitán,* is an old captain who is ever ready to sing the praises of his great leader and of his nephew, Juan, who is in love with Pompeya. When her lover is imprisoned, Pompeya comes to García de Paredes, asking his help for her and her betrothed. Paredes is willing to help, but protests that he is not a go-between. The marqués del Basto does not appear in this *comedia.*

Lope de Vega's main source for the three above plays was the *Cronica del Gran Capitán Gonzalo Hernandez de Córdoba y Aguilar. En la cual se contienen las dos conquistas* del *Reino de Nápoles,* etc. *Con la vida del famoso caballero Diego García de Paredes nuevamente añadida a esta historia,* etc. *Impresso en Alcalá de Henares en casa de Hernan Ramirez impressor y mercader de libros* 1584. The larger part of *La Contienda de Diego García de Paredes* is taken from the last portion of the *Crónica* purporting to be written by García de Paredes himself, wherein are mentioned Juan de Urbina, a brother, Alvaro, and a son, Sancho de Paredes. Lope, however, makes no mention of a son. Menéndez y Pelayo regards this portion of the *Crónica* as apocryphal and lacking almost all foundation in fact [1]. The other two plays are principally based on what Lope read of the rest of the chronicle mentioned.

It is clear from what has been stated, that, apart from the appearance of the Marqués del Basto in *La Contienda de D. García de Paredes,* the play under discussion, *Darles con*

1. *Obras de Lope de Vega,* vol. I, Madrid, 1900. *Introduction,* p. CXXXII.

la entretenida, was largely influenced by *Las Cuentas del Grán Capitán*. In the last mentioned play, Paredes is not a *valiente*, but an old soldier willing to further the affairs of a young couple. In other words, the atmosphere is the same in both.

El Valor no tiene edad y Sansón de Extremadura by D. Juan Bautista Diamante, shows curiously enough, the composite influence of *La Contienda de D. García de Paredes* by Lope de Vega, the *Crónica del Grán Capitán* (last portion giving the life of Paredes), and *Darles con la entretenida*, which had as well the same title as Diamante's play [1]. The large space given by Diamante to Sancho Paredes shows his use of the portion of the *Crónica* mentioned. The long account of García's life could only have come from a similar account found in Lope's *La Contienda*, etc., whereas the general atmosphere of the second act with Sancho's entry into Beatrice's room by the window, recalls strongly Carlos' action in *Darles con la entretenida*. Also the extraction from a forced marriage by the old soldier's astuteness is the same in both. Diamante's play combines well the atmosphere of *La Contienda* (*valiente* character), and that of *Darles con la entretenida* (character of kindly old soldier).

El Diablo predicador y Mayor contrario amigo.

Before discussing the question of the attribution of this famous religious piece, it will be well to set forth the principal facts which relate to its source. This matter, together with a discussion of the authorship of the *comedia*, and its popularity down to modern times, is treated in M. Léo

1. The play by Diamante first appeared in *Comedias de Don Juan Bautista Diamante, Segunda Parte, Madrid*, 1674, and again in *Parte* 48, *Escogidas, Madrid*, 1604.

Rouanet's preface to his French translation of the play[1].

The play in question is a *rifacimiento* of *Fray Diablo y el Diablo predicador*, formerly extant only in a MS. in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid which has since been printed in Volume II of the *Nueva edición de Obras de Lope de Vega*, 1916[2]. The Doctor Francisco Malaspina wrote a drama entitled *La Fuerza de la Verdad y Diablo predicador*, which, although it shows clearly the influence of *Fray Diablo*, differs greatly from it in treatment[3]. The names of the principal characters are different, and a different turn is given to the plot. The devil and the friars play an unimportant part, the chief role being given to the brutal César with whom Rosaura, strange to relate, is in love. The scene passes in Verona and not in Lucca. César persuades Rosaura to leave the convent in which, owing to her belief that her cruel lover had killed Carlos her brother, she has taken refuge, and to flee with him to the mountains. César, being pursued thither by Carlos who has recovered from his wounds, jumps over a precipice. In his fall, he grasps a cross which he finds with the result that his eyes are opened to the truth and he dies repentant[4].

1. *Le Diable prédicateur*, comédie espagnole du XVII^e siècle traduite pour la première fois en français avec une notice et des notes par Léo Rouanet, Paris et Toulouse, 1901.

2. Vol. II. *Nueva ed. Obras Lope de Vega*, p. VIII of *Introduction* by Cotarelo y Mori. Madrid, 1916. El celebre drama Fray Diablo y el Diablo predicador es él manuscrito 15084 de la referida Biblioteca Nacional atribuido a Lope y firmado en Madrid, a lo de octubre de 1630, por un tal Diego de Anunzibay que sería el copista.

3. *La Fuerza de la Verdad* by Francisco Malaspina appeared in *Pensil de Apolo, en doce Comedias nuevas de los mejores de España. Parte XIV*. Madrid, 1660.

4. It would seem that the Duque de Rivas had the play ascribed to Malaspina in mind when he wrote *Don Alvaro o la fuerza del sino*, and not the *Diablo predicador*. Cf. *Historia de la literatura española* by Hurtado y Palencia, Madrid, 1925, p. 701.

The source of the *Fray Diablo* is the following from *Jornadas para el Cielo* [1] by Padre Fray Cristoval Moreno of the Franciscan order.

No dexaré de escrivir (aunque con gran lástima de mi coraçon) lo que entendí y oy contar, hallándome yo en Roma, en el año de mil quinientos y cinquenta y siete, reynando felizmente el summo pontificado Papa Paulo quarto de gloriosa memoria, el qual era Napolitano de la illustre casa y linage de los Garrafas, a los muy reuerendos padres fray Bernardino de Tiuoli prouincial de la prouincia de Roma, Fray Simon de Brexa lector de Theologia, y fray Marino de Treui guardian del conuento de Sancta Maria de Araceli de la ciudad de Roma, todas personas antiguas y de mucha autoridad, fe y crédito, del caso estraño que algunos años antes auía acontecido en la ciudad de Luca (sic) en Italia. Estando comiendo vn dia en el conuento de nuestro padre San Francisco de los obseruantes todos los religiosos en communidad, tocaron la campanilla de la puerta : Abriendo el portero, vió vn frayle a la puerta vestido con el hábito de nuestra seráphica religión, el qual le dixo. Padre yo soy embiado por vn gran señor, para dezir cierta embaxada al padre guardián en presencia de todos los religiosos vuestra reuerencia de auiso. Comunicado con el guardia y tenida licencia, entró el huésped en el refitorio a donde estauan todos los religiosos del conuento sin faltar alguno. Y estando en pie en medio del refitorio dixo. Padre guardían y religiosos no toméys espanto de lo que agora os diré. Yo soy el demonio (león rugiente, tentador de las almas, perseguidor en inquietador de los que siruen a Dios) embiado aqui por el gran Dios y señor que todo lo puede y manda, no temáys, que de mi enojo alguno, ni espanto recibiréys. Moraré entre vosotros en esta figura y semblante, el tiempo que su divina Magestad querrá : vosotros callad y no descubréys este misterio, por que no os castigue Dios.

1. *Jornadas para el Cielo dirigido a la S. C. R. M. del Rey Don Philipe, nuestro Señor, segundo deste nombre. Rey de las Españas. Compuesto por el muy reverendo fray Cristoval Moreno, de la Orden de nuestro Seraphico padre San Francisco de la provincia de Valencia. Con licencia. Impresso en Alcalá de Henares, en casa de Juan Gracian que sea en gloria MDXCIX.* M. Rouanet mentions five editions in all. Zaragoza, 1580, Alcalá de Henares, 1596, 1599 and 1601, and Madrid, 1616.

Yo pediré todas las limosnas dentro de la ciudad, porque assí es la voluntad de aquel que me crió, y por mi soberuia castigó. Viendo los religiosos ser aquella la voluntad del Señor, callando seruían a su divina Magestad. Marauillosos secretos de la inscrutable voluntad de Dios. Dos años enteros estuuo el demonio en el dicho conuento, y cada dia fué a pedir limosna por la ciudad, y en particular yua cada dia a casa de vn mercader muy rico y poderoso, a donde después de auer pedido limosna sin que se la diessen (porque era el mercader inhumano y sin piedad, y en su casa jamás se hazía limosna) le dezía : Haz penetencia, y ten dolor de tus pecados, que nos sabes quando morirás. Y si el mercader no estaua alli, dezíalo a sus criados, para que se lo dixessen. Pasados los dos años, dixo el demonio al guardián y frayles : Ya es cumplido mi ministerio: Embióme Dios a esta ciudad, para predicar a tal mercader que hiziesse penitencia, y casi de innumerables medios ha vsado Dios para conuertirle, y muchos años le ha aguardado a penitencia y enmienda de su vida, jamás ha querido corresponder a las mercedes de Dios, ya su malicia es cumplida delante del diuino acatamiento no me puedo mas detener, y vosotros guardad lo que prometistes porque no os veáys en el mismo trabajo. Las quales palabras dichas en el mismo punto desapareció delante de todos. El guardián como fuesse prudente, en la misma hora fué a casa del mercader, con algunos sanctos y perfectos religiosos, para darle auiso de lo que passaua. Pero poco le aprouechó, porque auía ya tanta tempestad en la casa del triste y desdichado mercader, que ni ellos, ni muchos otros clérigos y religiosos de diuersas religiones, pudieron entrar. Passadas casi dos horas, quietóse la gran tempestad, y entrando dentro, hallaron que los demonios se lo auían lleuado en cuerpo y alma a los infiernos. Y predicando el guardián quanto passaua, alabaron todos a Dios, que de tantas maneras y modos llama los pecadores a penitencia.

The play which we are now studying follows its model, *Fray Diablo*, closely on the whole. The characters which have the same names in both are Octavia, Fray Antolín, the Gobernardor and the Guardián, whereas the Demonio, Frederico, Felisardo and the Niño Jesús in the older *comedia* are respectively, Luzbel, Ludovico, Feliciano and St. Michael in the later one. The scene of both is laid in Lucca and the course of the action is the same. There are, however, cer-

tain important differences, and one, in particular, which explain the great popularity of the *refundición*.

Frederico and Ludovico resemble one another very closely, both being harsh and stubborn. The treatment of the lovers differs in that Octavia of the later piece is franker than her prototype, and at the same time more scrupulous of her honor as a married woman, and of observing what she considers a wife's duty to her husband, even if she abhors him. On the whole, she is the more appealing figure.

Another great departure from the model comes in the interpretation of the character of the Guardián, and, most important of all, in that of the lay brother, Fray Antolín. The following is from the *Notice* by L. Rouanet [1] in which he also quotes from the *Essai sur le théâtre espagnol* of Louis de Viel-Castel [2] :

> Tout à fait effacée chez Lope, la physionomie du gardien, ou supérieur du couvent, est ici pleine de noblesse. Que dire de cette pantagruélique caricature qu'est frère Antolin? Il rendrait des points au Dom Pomporio de Straparole « si grand avaleur de poix gris, qu'il se vantoit manger en un seul repas un quartier de veau avec une paire de chappons gras. Il avoit une grande jatte, qu'il nommoit son oratoire de devotion, qui tenoit pour le moins sept grands escuelles de potage, laquelle, oultre sa pittance ordinaire, il emplissoit tous les jours, tant à disner comme à soupper, de quelque brouet, dont il ne laissoit perdre une seule goutte, oultre ce qui estoit devant les autres religieux, qu'il r'amassoit en cest oratoire de devotion, jettant le tout sur sa conscience, et escrimant les machoires comme s'il n'eust mangé de trois mois ». Cet extraordinaire bouffon, à peine esquissé dans *Fray Diablo*, a pris dans *El Diablo predicador* une importance si considérable qu'il est devenu par la suite, et contrairement a la conception de l'auteur, le personnage principal de la pièce.

With little change in plot, the later piece has improved upon its model in dramatic treatment by giving a clearer

1. *Le Diable prédicateur* by L. Rouanet, pp. 36-41.
2. *Op. cit.*, Paris, 1882, vol. II, chap. LVII.

outline to most of the characters, increasing the comic element and by making the sentimental portion more acceptable to the public through the elimination of the moral laxity displayed by the heroine in the earlier drama.

There is abundant proof of the long continued popularity of the *Diablo predicador*[1].

As the question of authorship necessarily includes a consideration of the available manuscripts and printed editions or collections in which the play under discussion has appeared, we shall first consider this aspect of the subject.

Five MSS. of the *Diablo predicador o Mayor contrario amigo* are to be found in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

MS. No. 15666 : the parchment cover reads : La gran comedia de Demonio por amigo. De Villegas. Inside on the first sheet : La gran comedia del mayor contrario amigo de Don Francisco de Villegas. At the end of the play : He leido esta comedia y me parece no contiene cosa alguna contra nuestra Sancta fe, y buenas costumbres. Asi lo siento salvo meliore, etc. En esse convento de S. Juan de los Reyes en 28 de setiemb. de 85, Fray Lucas Alvarez de Toledo. On the back of the following page : Es de Alexandro Bautista estando en la ciudad de Zaraga en 26 del año de 1685. Este libro de comedias es de Alexandro Bautista galan de la compañia. (Mesonero Romanos, Vol. 45 Bib. Aut. Esp., p. XXII note, and La Barrera, Catálogo del teatro antiguo, pp. 30 and 111, by mistake gives the above date as 1635. It is clearly 1685. See also Rouanet, p. 74.)

MS. No. 15178. On the outside sheet : El mayor contrario amigo es esta comedia de Juan Garcia. Under this in another hand : de Villegas. On the inside sheet : El Mayor contrario

1. Rouanet, *le Diable prédicateur*, pp. 49-68. See also Introduction to this play by Don Eugenio de Ochoa in his *Tesoro del teatro español desde su origen hasta nuestros dias*. Paris, 1838, vol. V.

amigo de don francisco de Villegass. At the end : es de Juan García.

MS. No. 17271. El mayor contrario amigo. Another hand has added, de Villegas.

MS. No. 17360. El mayor contrario amigo. Another hand has added, de Villegas.

MS. No. 16426. El mayor contrario amigo. Another hand has added, Villegas.

According to La Barrera[1], *El Diablo predicador* appeared in *Parte Sexta de comedias de los mejores ingenios de España*, impresa por los Herederos de Pedro Lanaja 1653-54, where it was ascribed to Luis de Belmonte. According to La Barrera, this *Parte* exists in the Imperial Library in Vienna[2]. (In answer to our inquiry concerning this *Parte*, the Vice-director of the Nationalbibliotek, formerly Imperial Library, replied that the library does not possess the Parte in question.)

The play has been printed with the title : *Comedia famosa. El Diablo predicador y Mayor contrario amigo.* De un ingenio de la corte, or simply de un ingenio in the following *sueltas*.

Barcelona, Carlos Sapira, 1764.

Valencia, Joseph de Orga, 1765.

Barcelona, Isidro Lopez, without date.

Madrid, Libreria de Quiroga, 1793.

Cadiz, Imprenta de Marina, without date.

Salamanca, Imp. de la Santa Cruz, without date.

We have also seen a copy in the Biblioteca Municipal, Madrid, in a collection entitled, *Obras Dramáticas Escogidas. El Diablo predicador, de un ingenio de la Corte, Valencia*, 1883.

Cotarelo y Mori[3] cites four *sueltas*, all " de un ingenio ".

1. Cat., p. 30.
2. La Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 705, where *Parte sexta* is described.
3. *Introduction, Obras de Lope de Vega*, vol. II, p. VIII, Madrid, 1916.

Don Eugenio de Ochoa printed the *Diablo predicador*, ascribing it to Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez in Volume V of his *Tesoro del teatro español desde su origen hasta nuestros dias*, Paris, 1838, with a prefatory note, part of which is as follows :

> Esta comedia ha pasado siempre por anónima y aun todovía no se sabe a ciencia cierta quien será su autor; pero la opinión que nos parece más fundada es la que la atribuye a Luis de Belmonte, con cuyo estilo tiene mucha analogía el de esta composición.

Mesonero Romanos printed the play in Vol. 45 of *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, also ascribing it to Belmonte.

One other point may be fittingly discussed here.

Luis Fernández Guerra affirms that the *Diablo predicador*, played on February 6, 1623, in the Palacio Real in Madrid by the company of Manuel Alvarez de Vallejo, was the one in question here. This information he found in *El Averiguador*, 1871, p. 8, c. 2, from the Archivo del Palacio de Madrid [1]. This statement is refuted by Cotarelo y Mori who asserts that *El Diablo predicador* referred to in the *Archivo* must have been the play ascribed to Lope de Vega, the original title of which was not *Fray Diablo*, but *Diablo predicador* [2].

Further proof that *El Diablo predicador o Mayor contrario amigo*, the play under discussion, was not in existence in 1623, is its scheme of versification. Out of a total of some 3.086 lines, there are 2.566 lines of *romance* and only 416 lines of *redondilla*. Such proportions of *romance* and *redondilla* could hardly be found before the middle of the 17th century, and would indicate rather, that the play in question belongs to the latter half of that century.

1. Luis Fernández Guerra, *Don Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza*, p. 360, Madrid, 1871.

2. *Introduction, Obras de Lope de Vega*, vol. II, p. VIII, Madrid, 1916.

The whole problem of authorship is well set forth in the following extract from La Barrera [1] :

El drama que por su atrevida originalidad y cómico donaire ha granjeado ciertamente a su presunto autor Luis de Belmonte mayor y más invariable popularidad, ha sido el que se titula : El mayor contrario amigo y Diablo predicador. Sobre la pertenencia legitima de esta comedia célebre, prohibida unas veces, tolerada otras y aplaudida siempre, poco podremos decir de nuevo. Tres copias manuscritas de ella, con fecha de 1635 (mistake for 1685) existentes en la biblioteca del señor duque de Osuña, la atribuyen a Don Francisco de Villegas, discreto autor dramático de aquel tiempo. Hállase suelta atribuida a fray Damian Cornejo, a don Francisco Malaspina (que la refundió), a N. Bermúdez y en fin, anónima, como de un ingenio de esta corte. Bajo el nombre de Luis de Belmonte se publicó en la Parte Sexta de comedias de los mejores ingenios de España, impreso en Zaragoza por los herederos de Pedro Lanaja (1653-54).

El Señor Don Ramón Mesonero Romanos ha reproducido últimamente en la Biblioteca de Autores Españoles la comedia El Diablo predicador, como obra de Belmonte; y además La Renegada de Valladolid del mismo, precedidas de varias noticias crítico-bibliográficas.

The mention of the name, Francisco Malaspina, is in connection with *La Fuerza de la Verdad y Diablo predicador*, published in XIV of *Escogidas*, Madrid, 1661, the plot of which has already been discussed [2].

We have not seen the *suelta* ascribing the play to fray Damian Cornejo who was a Franciscan and Bishop of Orense in 1698. The above ascription is the only mention of Cor-

1. La Barrera, Cat., pp. 29-30, Madrid, 1860.

2. La Barrera, Cat., p. 232. He adds the titlē, *Guelfos y Gibelinos*. Malaspina, *doctor en ambos derechos*, is not mentioned as having written any other play. Coterelo y Mori, *Introduction, Obras de Lope de Vega*, vol. II, p. VIII mentions having seen this *refundición* ascribed to Malaspina in an undated *suelta* with the title expressed thus : *El Diablo predicador. Comedia famosa del Doctor D. Francisco Malaspina*, and at the end of the play, Con licencia en Sevilla. En la Imprenta Castellana y Latina de Joseph Antonio de Hermosilla.

nejo's connection with play writing, and, with the exception of some youthful verses, he is not known to have written on any other than ecclesiastical subjects [1].

Nor have we seen a *suelta* with the name N. Bermúdez, and we concur in M. Rouanet's opinion that this is an obvious confusion with the name of Belmonte Bermúdez [2].

From the ascriptions on the MSS. the evidence would seem to indicate that Francisco de Villegas should be considered the author of the *refundición, El mayor contrario amigo y Diablo predicador.* Alejandro Bautista is named simply as the owner of the manuscript, and an actor of a theatrical troupe. He belonged, doubtless, to the Bautista family who were famous as actors [3]. The name, Juan García on the MS. seems to be used in the same connection as that of Alejandro Bautista [4].

Francisco de Villegas, whom La Barrera [5] describes as an *ingenioso autor dramático* of the second half of the 17th century, and whose *comedias* appear in *Partes II, XIX, XXV, XXX, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIX* and *XLII* of *Comedias Escogidas,* Madrid, could very well have been the author of *El Diablo predicador,* which, we must bear in mind, as far as plot is concerned, is a close imitation of its model, *El Fray Diablo.* If Francisco de Villegas belongs to the actor family of Villegas, his claim to the authorship of this *refundición* is thereby strengthened, as an author with a practical

1. La Barrera, p. 111. It is possible that his belonging to the Franciscan order has something to do with the ascription. Cf. Rouanet, p. 29.

2. Rouanet, p. 29.

3. Rennert, *The Spanish Stage,* p. 632. If Francisco de Villegas is the brother of Juan Bautista de Villegas who died before 1623, he must have been many years his junior.

4. An actor in the company of José de Prado. Rennert, *The Spanish Stage,* New York, 1909, p. 481.

5. La Barrera, Cat., p. 493.

knowledge of stage-craft would have been capable of making just the changes which appear in the later *comedia*. The fact that Francisco de Villegas belongs to the second half of the 17th century would also be in his favor.

The absence, however, of any printed text ascribing the *comedia* in question to Villegas, though, by no means, conclusive proof against him, does prevent a clear case being made out in his behalf.

Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez certainly does not occupy a stronger position than the dramatic author just discussed [1]. No manuscript of the play bearing his name has been found, and the printed edition described as containing a drama entitled, *El Diablo predicador*, ascribed to him, is not at hand for the purpose of examination and comparison.

For aught we know, the title, *El Diablo predicador*, described as being contained in the aforementioned *Parte Sexta, Zaragoza*, 1653, and there ascribed to Belmonte, may not have been the play in question, but the one attributed to Malaspina. That piece bore the double title, *La fuerza de la verdad y Diablo predicador*, and we have seen that Señor Cotarelo mentions it as having appeared with simply the title *Diablo predicador* in a Seville *suelta*. We hazard this assumption on the strength of two facts, first, the Doctor Francisco Malaspina is solely known to posterity as the author of *La fuerza de la verdad y Diablo predicador*, and secondly, our author, Luis de Belmonte, is mentioned as the author of a *suelta* entitled *La Fuerza de la razón*, which may have been simply another name for *La fuerza de la verdad*, and thus through the other half of the title of that play have given rise

1. On this question, Ernest Mérimée, *Précis d'histoire de la littérature espagnole*, Paris, 1908, p. 332, says : " *El Diablo predicador*, pièce curieuse et célèbre qu'on lui (Luis de Belmonte) attribue sans raison sérieuse et qui n'est qu'une refonte du *Fray Diablo* de Lope. "

to the attribution of the play under discussion to Belmonte [1]. We advance this suggestion for whatever value it may be found to possess, with the hope that future discoveries may throw light on this vexed problem.

As regards the style of *El Diablo predicador*, we may state that, in our opinion, there are few elements in it which did not already exist in the original, *Fray Diablo*, to connect it with our author's manner. The later piece possesses greater humor and more sentiment, or, at least, sentiment of a more pleasing kind, than that shown in the model. Belmonte undoubtedly gave marked evidences of possessing humor and was capable of expressing fittingly tender feeling. Good proof ot the latter is found in *Las Siete Estrellas de Francia*. Such features and others may have been created by Belmonte, as they also could have been created by a number of other dramatists of the time. But stronger proof than certain similarities of manner or even of matter, particularly in the case of a *refundición*, is necessary to prove the authorship of a doubtful play.

But, if we consider Belmonte as sole author of the play in question, the following points must be borne in mind. It contains a larger proportion of *romance* than any play written by our author. It also displays a sustained excellence, even for a *refundición*, not maintained by Belmonte in any of his work. Furthermore, the dramatic style of this piece seems to belong to a later period, and is, in our opinion, pervaded throughout by a conscious effort for dramatic effect of a kind not exhibited by playwrights of the first half of the 17th century.

There are several possibilities. Luis de Belmonte Ber-

1. La Barrera, Cat., p. 31. *La fuerza de la razón* is the only play of Belmonte's mentioned by La Barrera, on which we have been able to find nothing.

múdez may have been the author of the *Fray Diablo* ascribed in MS. form to Lope, or he may have written *La fuerza* de *la verdad y Diablo predicador* attributed to Malaspina, or again, if not the sole author, he may have collaborated with others in the drama under discussion.

El Gran Jorge Castrioto y Principe Escanderbec [1].

The question of the authorship of the above play, which we shall, for the sake of convenience, designate by its shorter name, *El Principe Escanderbec*, lies between our author and Luis Vélez de Guevara [2].

Luis Vélez's authorship of *El Principe Esclavo* on the same theme has never been questioned. We give herewith its plot, together with the first and last lines [3].

El Principe Esclavo.

Ros. Ataja, ataja, ataja,
que el bruto amenaçando baxa
. . . . . .
Lain. Y a esto, Senado, reduce
de Escanderbec las hazañas
lauro que copiosamente
repite eterna la fama.

1. We have used E. Forrest Spencer's unpublished thesis on the *Life and Works of Luis Vélez de Guevara* for notes to this play.

2. The above statement is not intended to exclude all possibility of authorship by some other dramatist than either of the two mentioned.

3. *El Principe Esclavo* exists only in suelta form. See La Barrera, Cat., p. 45.

Act I.

Amurates, Sultana, his wife, and several companions are engaged in hunting the wild boar, when Mahometo, son and heir of the Sultan, joins them to say that he has just undergone a most startling experience. In the act of cutting off a boar's head, a man's head suddenly grew up out of the severed neck. This apparition proved to be the shade of his grandfather, Otoman, who warned him of the danger threatening the Ottoman Empire at the hands of Jorge Castrioto Escanderbec, prince of Albania. Although this Christian champion is fated to overthrow the Turk, Otoman urges his grandson on to battle, in the hope that he may triumph over what fate has already decreed. When Mahometo has concluded the account of his startling experience and has won his father's hearty approval by expressing his determination to earn for him fame and glory on the field of battle, a trumpet sounds, heralding the approach of a galley :

> tan negra
> que puede dar a la noche
> assombros.

Zeylan and the Christian captive Lain disembark from this galley, and the former tells the Sultan of the defeat he has suffered at the hands of Escanderbec, and how the Albanian has been elected champion of his people. Amurates, greatly angered, accuses Zeylan of treachery, and orders Lain, whom he considers his accomplice, to lead him off to a nearby thicket and cut his throat, assuring him that he too, will receive a similar fate. This laxness of the Sultan's, however, in having his orders carried out, enables both Zeylan and Lain to plot their escape.

Meanwhile, at Acroya, Cristerna and Alberto discuss Es-

canderbec's recent naval victory over the Turk. On the young leader's subsequent return, he is met by Moyses Golento, who tells him that if he is really the son of Castrioto, he should have a sword imprinted on his right arm. Whereupon to prove his identity, Escanderbec bares his arm, reveals the birthmark, and swears that henceforth he will always keep that uncovered when engaging in battle. Moyses then requests him to discard his Turkish garb, and Escanderbec, in compliance with his suggestion, enters a royal pavilion for the purpose of arraying himself in regal attire preparatory to his forthcoming coronation.

While he is getting suitably attired for the approaching ceremony, Mostafa, a messenger of Amurates, appears with a declaration of war from his master. Escanderbec enters, arrayed in regal splendor, and begins to read the Sultan's letter. While he is becoming conversant with its contents, Mostafa attempts to stab him in the back, but the attempt fails, inasmuch as the earth suddenly opens and swallows the messenger up.

Whereupon Escanderbec goes to meet the Papal legate who is awaiting him, is received into the church and, on his making his profession of faith, has the title of Defender of the Faith conferred upon him. Moreover sanction is given to his marriage with Cristerna, his near relative; hence all set about entering the city preparatory to celebrating the wedding.

Act II.

Some time later, Jorge has a vision of his dead father, who informs him that he is doomed to wander the earth until his bones are taken from infidel soil and given proper burial. Whereupon, the son vows he will rest neither day nor night until his father's ashes are brought to Acroya.

Soon afterwards, Escanderbec's army is attacked by Amu-

rates' army of 200.000 men. Although the odds are fearfully against him, since he has only 20.000 men at his command, the Albanian is, nevertheless, victorious in the ensuing combat, and even succeeds in taking Mahometo captive. He then sends a message to Amurates to the effect that he will deliver the captive up, if the bones of his father are returned to him, together with the surrender of all Christian captives; if his offer be refused, he will ravage the Sultan's empire with fire and sword.

Act III.

Amurates accepts the Albanian's offer, but once his son is safe, he refuses to let his Christian captives go or to permit the bones of Jorge Castrioto to be removed. Mahometo, however, gainsays his father, and rebukes him for not keeping his word. The Sultan grows very angry and threatens to kill his son, but a death chill suddenly seizes him, and he realises in terror that his end is near.

Meanwhile Escanderbec has ordered an attack on the enemy. He arrives victorious at the Sultan's camp, after being miraculously saved from death, just as the latter is expiring. He will not, however, take undue advantage over his fallen enemy, and bids his men refrain from pushing their victory further. The dying Amurates applauds his generosity, and promises him he can remove his father's ashes together with what Christians have been held captive. Whereupon Escanderbec marches off to get his father's ashes, in order that they may be given proper burial.

The following is a brief summary of the pertinent events of Escanderbec's life as recounted in the chronicle from which the plays were taken [1].

1. *Corónica del Esforçado Príncipe y Capitán Jorge Castrioto Rey*

Juan Castrioto, master of the city of Croya and of Albania, had several sons, the youngest of whom was Jorge (later called Escander Bey). This son was born with the figure of a sword on his right arm, which was considered a sign of his future bravery and prowess in arms. Misfortune, however, overtook Juan Castrioto in his many battles with the Turkish prince, Amurat, who compelled the former to give up his sons as hostages for the purpose of obtaining peace. Amurat had the boys circumcised and their names changed. Jorge was renamed Escander Bey on account of his fine and brave appearance. Later, Escander Bey gave such evidence of his valor in battle that, when his father, Juan Castrioto, died, and Amurat determined to put to death the other sons preparatory to taking possession of Croya and Albania, he spared the young hero's life in order to make him captain of his own armies.

From this time on, Escander Bey became so famous as a leader of the Turkish forces and so popular with the Christian subjects of the Sultan Amurates, that the latter, alarmed at so much success, began secretly to plot his great soldier's death.

Escander Bey, gradually becoming aware of the Sultan's designs on his life, and, realising that he must sooner or later succumb to them, determined to win back his father's kingdom, by whatever means he could. His opportunity came at the time of the war between Huniades, King of Hungary, and Amurates. Pretending that Amurates had ordered him to take charge of Croya, he entered the city, his design being helped by Huniades' victory over the Turks. Many Alba-

de Epiro y Albania. Tradvzida de Lengva Portuguesa en Castellano. Por Jvan Ochoa de la Salde Prior perpetuo de San Juan de Letrán. Con Licencia. En Madrid, por Luis Sanchez. Año MDXCVII. A costa de Juan de Montoya mercader de Libros. The Lisbon edition was printed in 1588.

nians now joined their countryman, Escander Bey, and, in spite of the Sultan's many campaigns against him, the brave Albanian withstood all attacks and thus assured the independance of his country.

The chronicle merely mentions in passing that Escander Bey was married to the beautiful Donica, daughter of Harianites, one of the noblest princes of Epirus.

The miracles and visions, the episode of the removal of Juan Castrioto's ashes from infidel soil, as well as all that concerns the heroine, Cristerna, described in the plays, are not found in the Chronicle.

The facts concerning the printing of the piece in question are as follows :

El Principe Escanderbec was first published in *Parte XXVIII de Comedias de Varios Autores* (Huesca, 1634), and attributed to Vélez de Guevara. A play with the same title and ascribed to Lope, was printed in *Parte XXVIII extravagante* of the latter's *comedias* (Saragossa, 1639).

In *Escogidas XLV*, with the title, *El Gran Jorge Castrioto y Principe Escanderbec*, the play is ascribed to Vélez in the text, but to Belmonte in the *tabla* [1].

1. See La Barrera, Cat., p. 466 and p. 45. In speaking of the *comedia* in question, La Barrera says in a note : " Esta se atribuye más comunemente a Belmonte. La de L. Vélez parece ser : El Principe Esclavo y hazañas de Escanderberg y puede tenerse por segunda parte. " See also Rennert, *Notes on the Chronology of the Spanish Drama*, Mod. Lang. Rev. vol. II, p. 52, and Restori, *Títulos de Comedias*, Messina 1903, pp. 149-150 and p. 99. In a note to a Court representation entitled *Escanderberg*, 2ª *parte* Jan. 17, 1629, p. 99, Restori mentions a Parma *suelta* which he denominates as *antica* ascribed to Vélez, entitled *Principe Esclavo* and the second part beginning and ending as *El Principe Esclavo*. He also mentions *sueltas* (presumably of Escanderbey), ascribed to Belmonte. Montalván in *Fara Todos*, Madrid, 1633, ff. 185a-185b, Pamplona, 1702, pp. 342-343, in the Introduction to his *auto sacramental* entitled *Escanderbech*, writes : " Esta es en suma la historia verdadera de Escanderbech cuya vida escrivió en dos Comedias Luis Vélez de Guevara. "

In our opinion, there is more proof that Luis de Belmonte may be the author of *El Principe Escanderbec*, than there is in Luis Vélez de Guevara's favor. We must concede, however, that the *suelta* described by Restori with its first and second parts, and the mention of *dos comedias* as by Luis Vélez by Montalván is very powerful evidence.

Nevertheless, we cannot lose sight of the following considerations : the close similarity of the meter arrangement of *Darles con la entretenida* which we believe to have been written by Belmonte and that of *El Principe Escanderbec*[1] ; the fact that the two plays, the plots of which have been described, appear to be, in no way, continuations of one another, but rather separate *comedias*; the style of *El Principe Escanderbec* resembles Belmonte's rather than Vélez's, since it emphasises the sentimental element at the expense of the warlike and theatrical element; in other words, *El Principe Esclavo* (admitted to be by Vélez), is much more martial in spirit and nearer the atmosphere of the Chronicle than is *El Principe Escanderbec.*

La Renegada de Valladolid.

The MS. No. 16808 in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, proves that the hitherto accepted ascription of this play to Belmonte alone is erroneous. This, along with other data, however, does not exclude him from all part in the composition of the piece, but shows that he can properly be considered as the author of only the first act.

It may be advisable to consider the printed editions first.

The first of these is found in *Comedias Escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España, Parte Primera, Madrid,* 1652.

1: See, pp. 225-6, 227.

In the *Tabla de las comedias* we find : *La Renegada de Valladolid, de Luis de Belmonte y de Don Antonio de Bermudez*[1]. At the place in this volume where the text of *La Renegada de Valladolid* is printed, only Luis de Belmonte figures as author[2]. The first line reads : Isab./ Que dices necia no quede, and the last two lines thus : Ceyl./ Y aqui esta humilde pluma/ piadosa disculpa alcance.

The next mentions only Luis de Belmonte as author, and is dated, Madrid, 1774 (Antonio Saur). It is the same throughout as the former, beginning and ending with the same lines. The Biblioteca Nacional possesses a number of copies of this *suelta*.

La Renegada de Valladolid has also been printed in Volume 45 of *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, and in Volume 3 of *Teatro Selecto antiguo y moderno nacional y extrangero*, with Belmonte mentioned as sole author, and with the same beginning and ending as those of *Parte Primera* of *Comedias Escogidas*.

The Biblioteca Nacional possesses three MSS. entitled *La Renegada* de Valladolid.

MS. No. 17331. The *portada* contains the words " de Luys de Belmonte ", and there is no date. This MS. is, in every respect, the same as the printed editions of the play, except for the last two lines. The first line reads : Que decis necia no quede. The last two read : Y aqui tres humildas plumas/ piadosa disculpa alcancen. It is clear that the MS. from which the play was printed in *Escogidas* and in other editions excludes by its ending, the idea of single authorship.

MS. No. 17014 bears on the *portada* the designation, " de Velmonte ", and a note reading : Sería diferente de la im-

1. Comparison with the MS. will show that D. Antonio Bermúdez is most probably a mistake for Don Antonio Martínez (de Meneses).
2. This ascription is found in all later printings of the play.

presa. The first page contains the words, " de Luis de Belmonte ". The first line reads: Isab./ Traes respuesta. Na./ Si señora, and the last two lines read : Y aquí tres humildes plumas/ piadosa disculpa alcancen.

MS. No. 16808 begins and ends with exactly the same lines as the above, No. 17014. It is, in all respects, the same as the preceding, except that the *portada* of each act reveals the name of its author. The *portada* of the first act reads : De Luys de Belmonte, that of the second act : de don Agustyn Moreto, and that of the third act : de D. Antonio Martynez de Meneses[1]. The title, on the *portada* of the second act reads : *2a Jornada de la cautiba de Balladolyd*, while on the other two acts, the name, *La Renegada de Balladolyd* is adhered to.

These two MSS. appear to be older than MS. No. 17331 from which the play found its way into print. It is a variant of the other two MSS. (Nos. 17014 and 16808). The change in the action is slight, but there is a considerable difference in the versification, particularly in the first act. The main difference in the action is that the heroine's father who appears as a character in the first act in the older MSS., is eliminated entirely from the later MS. (No. 17331), and thus in the printed editions.

The changes in the versification of the first act are the following : the 80 lines of *silva* have gone and 326 lines of *romance* have been increased to 652, whereas the 504 lines of *redondilla* have been reduced to 255. That of the second and third acts has undergone less radical change. The second act of the older MSS. has 344 lines of *redondilla*, 470 lines of *romance* and 122 lines of *silva* and 40 lines of *quintilla*, while

1. The handwriting of this MS. is so hard to decipher and the paper on which it is written is in such poor condition, that it can be understood how, hitherto, these names have passed undetected.

we find 420 lines of *redondilla*, 488 lines of *romance*, 146 lines of *silva* and 55 lines of *quintilla* in the later MS. In the third act of the older MSS. we have 292 *redondilla*, 372 *romance*, 30 *silva*, 48 *octava*, with 332 *redondilla*, 442 *romance*, 56 pareados, 48 *octava*, and 60 *quintilla* in the later MS.

The above figures show how much more radical has been the change in the versification of the first act than in that of the second and third acts, in fact, it is possible to read the latter two acts and be scarcely aware of any difference, though, of course, this is not true of the first act.

It is difficult to understand how these changes have been brought about. Since the first act by Belmonte has undergone the greatest modification, is he then responsible for the alterations in the last two acts, or has some outsider had a hand in the matter ?

However one may answer these questions, the above facts show clearly that *La Renegada de Valladolid* cannot rightfully be ascribed to Luis de Belmonte as sole author.

CHAPTER V

METRICAL ARRANGEMENT[1]

We have analysed the metrical arrangement of twenty-four plays with which our author's name has been connected, of which fifteen are authentic, five are collaborations and four are doubtful.

AUTHENTIC PLAYS

El Afanador de Utrera (R 22685).

	Act I.	
Redondilla	160 lines	
—	383 —	(1 line lacking)
Romance	304 —	
Silva	112 —	
	Act II.	
Redondilla	144 lines	
—	132 —	
Romance	420 —	
—	150 —	
Quintilla	30 —	
	Act III.	
Redondilla	220 lines	(one line lacking)
Romance	386 —	

1. We wish to acknowledge our indebetdness to Mr. Morcuende of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, for his assistance in furnishing the versification of sixteen plays.

Silva	183 —	(one line lacking)
Quintilla	70 —	

Totals.

Redondilla.	1039
Romance	1260
Number of lines in play. .	2694

Amor y Honor (R 22655).

	Act I.	
Redondilla.	360 lines	
Quintilla	370 —	
Romance	120 —	
	Act II.	
Redondilla.	659 lines	(one line lacking)
Silva	40 —	
Romance	222 —	
	Act III.	
Redondilla.	544 lines	
—	72 —	
Quintilla	40 —	
—	100 —	
Romance	92 —	
Silva	56 —	

Totals.

Redondilla.	1635
Romance	434
Number of lines in play. .	2675

Casarse sin hablarse

	Act I.	
Romance	104 lines	
—	200 —	
—	300 —	
Silva	40 —	
—	90 —	
Redondilla.	60 —	
—	24 —	

	Act II.
Redondilla.	48 lines
—	96 —
Romance	306 —
—	330 —
	Act III.
Redondilla.	132 lines
—	36 —
Romance	246 —
—	116 —
—	200 —
Silva	88 —

Totals.

Romance	2038
Redondilla.	396
Number of lines in play. .	2648

El Cerco de Sevilla (MS. No. 15149).

	Act I.
Quintilla	50 lines
Romance	472 —
—	52 —
Redondilla.	392 —
	Act II.
Redondilla.	64 lines
—	572 —
Octava	40 —
—	64 —
Romance	240 —
Pareados (8 syllable) . . .	8 —
	Act III.
Redondilla.	860 lines
Romance	416 —

Totals.

Redondilla.	1391
Romance	1180
Number of lines in play. .	2730

El Conde de Fuentes (MS. No. 16834).

	Act I.
Redondilla.	92 lines
—	200 —
Romance	46 —
—	274 —
Silva	344 —
	Act II.
Redondilla.	146 lines
—	266 —
Silva	8 —
Romance	416 —
Quintilla	75 —
	Act III.
Silva	158 lines
Romance	460 —
—	78 —
Redondilla.	156 —

Totals.

Redondilla.	780
Romance	1274
Numbre of lines in play. .	2720

El Desposado por fuerza (T 20615).

	Act I.	
Redondilla.	236 lines	
—	269 —	(one odd line)
Romance	168 —	
—	212 —	
	Act II.	
Redondilla.	44 lines	
—	164 —	(first redondilla faulty)
Romance	449 —	(one line lacking)
—	85 —	— —
	Act III.	
Redondilla.	272 lines	

—	56	—
—	20	—
Romance	54	—
—	349	— (first line lacking & 3 faulty)
—	106	—

Totals.

Redondilla	1061
Romance	1425
Number of lines in play	2484

En riesgos luce el amor (T 21433).

	Act I.	
Redondilla	200	lines
—	626	— (one faulty redondilla)
Romance	116	—
	Act II.	
Redondilla	412	lines (half line lacking)
Sueltos (11 syllable)	93	—
Romance	415	— (one line lacking)
	Act III.	
Silva	32	lines
Redondilla	211	— (several faulty lines)
—	36	—
Quintilla	182	— (several faulty lines)
—	55	—
—	115	—
Romance	93	— (1 line lacking & 2 unrimed)

Totals.

Redondilla	1487
Romance	624
Number of lines in play	2588

El Hortelano de Tordesillas (MS. No. 17299).

	Act I.	
Romance	92	lines
—	212	—

—	236	—
—	266	—
Redondilla	44	—
Silva	76	— (mostly 7 & 11 rime in pairs)
—	134	— (nine in pairs)

Act II.

Redondilla	68	lines
—	40	—
Romance	176	—
—	226	—
—	162	—
Silva	228	—

Act III.

Romance	358	lines
—	364	—
Redondilla	68	—

Totals.

Redondilla	220
Romance	2092
Number of lines in play	2750

El Mejor Tutor es Dios (R 22681)

Act I.

Redondilla	56	lines
—	120	—
—	4	—
Quintilla	110	—
—	282	—
Romance	222	—
—	62	—
Silva	30	—

Act II.

Quintilla	30	lines
—	230	—
—	190	—
Redondilla	64	— (4 lines lacking)
—	268	— (2 half lines lacking)
Soneto	14	—

Act III.

Quintilla	10	lines
—	50	—
—	49	— (1 line lacking)
Redondilla	368	—
—	232	—
Romance	188	—
Soneto	14	—

Totals.

Redondilla	1112
Romance	472
Number of lines in play	2593

El Príncipe Villano (R 22667

Act I.

Silva	76	lines
Redondilla	216	—
—	904	—
Quintilla	40	—
Romance	252	—

Act II.

Redondilla	36	lines
Silva	184	—
—	42	—
Romance	144	—
—	198	—
Romancillo (6 syllables)	84	—
Soneto	28	—

Act III.

Quintilla	50	lines
Redondilla	16	—
—	48	—
Romance	144	—
—	206	—
—	196	—
Silva	58	—

Totals.

Redondilla.	1220
Romance	1140
Number of lines in play. .	2922.

El Sastre del Campillo (MS. R 115).

	Act I.	
Redondilla.	564 lines	
— (crossed out) . .	36 —	
Romance	544 —	
— (crossed out) . .	63 —	
	Act II.	
Silva	85 lines	
— (crossed out) . .	47 —	
Romance	678 —	
— (crossed out) . .	114 —	
Quintilla	40 —	
— (crossed out) . .	5 —	
Redondilla.	176 —	
— (crossed out) . .	17 —	
	Act III.	
Silva	454 lines	
— (crossed out) . .	16 —	
Redondilla.	120 —	
— (crossed out) . .	2 —	
Romance	290 —	
— (crossed out) . .	6 —	
—	4 —	(added on margin)

Totals.

(With crossed out lines)	Redondilla, 915 :	Romance. 1695.	Total 3261.
(Without deletions)	— 860 :	1516.	2985

El Satisfecho (MS. 15467).

	Act I.
Redondilla.	404 lines
Romance	630 —

	Act II.	
Redondilla	48	lines
Romance	657	— (3 lines sueltas)
Silva	211	— (1 line lacking)
	Act III.	
Redondilla	416	lines
Romance	246	—
Silva	94	—

Totals.

Redondilla	868
Romance	1533
Number of lines in play	2706

Las Siete Estrellas de Francia (R 22674).

	Act I.	
Romance	398	lines
—	274	—
—	160	—
Redondilla	36	—
Quintilla	20	—
Silva	98	—
Seguidilla	7	—
	Act II.	
Redondilla	112	lines
Romance	544	—
—	162	—
Silva	61	— (1 line incomplete)
	Act III.	
Silva	70	lines
—	62	—
Romance	320	—
—	237	— (1 odd line)
—	93	— (1 line lacking)
Quintilla	50	—

Totals.

Redondilla	148

Romance	2088
Number of lines in play. .	2604

Los trabajos de Ulises (R 22698).

	Act I.	
Redondilla.	148 lines	
—	563 —	(1 line lacking)
Romance	254 —	
—	64 —	
	Act II.	
Redondilla.	192 lines	
—	46 —	(2 lines lacking)
—	212 —	
—	128 —	
Romance	154 —	
Silva	9 —	
—	114 —	
	Act III.	
Redondilla.	332 lines	(1 odd line, 1 line lacking)
—	192 —	
—	108 —	
Endecasílabos blancos. . .	23 —	
Soneto	14 —	
Romance	80 —	

Totals.

Redondilla.	1921
Romance	652
Number of lines in play. .	2733

Los Tres señores del Mundo (R 22656).

	Act I.	
Redondilla.	60 lines	
—	60 —	(2 faulty and incomplete
—	564 —	4 incomplete)
Romance	116 —	
—	172 —	

	Act II.	
Redondilla.	296	lines (1 line faulty)
—	92	—
—	72	— (3 faulty; 2 lines without rime)
Romance	206	—
—	188	—
Silva	58	—
	Act III.	
Redondilla.	88	lines
—	40	—
—	24	—
—	184	—
Romance	84	—
—	104	—
—	80	—
Silva	136	—
Cuarteta	4	—

Totals.

Redondilla.	1480
Romance	950
Number of lines in play. .	2628

The fifteen plays examined classed as authentic show generally that, though Belmonte uses a smaller proportion of *romance* than Moreto, he is far ahead of Alarcón in this regard. Out of a total of thirty *comedias* by Moreto, twenty-one have more than 50 o/o *romance*, with six out of a total of fifteen by Belmonte and none out of a total of twenty four plays by Alarcón [1].

The largest proportion of *romance* employed by Belmonte is 80 o/o (2088 lines) in *Las Siete Estrellas de Francia*, the entire piece containing 2604 lines, with only 148 lines of *redondilla* [2].

1. S. G. Morley, *Studies in Spanish Dramatic Versification of the Siglo de Oro. Alarcón and Moreto.* University of California Publications in Mod. Philology, 1918, pp. 131-173.

2. Although it is true that no play of Moreto's has as large a mathe-

Belmonte's *comedias*, are, on the average, much shorter than those of Alarcón and Moreto. Of the 15 examined, 13 contain less than 2800 lines, whereas, out of 30 plays by Moreto, only half of them are shorter than the above total. What is true of Moreto in this respect is still more true of Alarcón. We may, therefore, affirm that one of Belmonte's characteristics was to avoid long pieces [1]. It is possible, that between say 1630 and 1640, there was a sensible reaction against prolixity in theatrical performances.

The dates which we possess of some of our author's pieces enable us to assert that, on the whole, Belmonte's dramas containing a larger proportion of *romance* than *redondilla* are later than those in which the first mentioned form of meter prevails to a less marked degree [2]. One reservation is necessary, however in the case of *El Sastre del Campillo*, an autograph dated 1624, which contains more than 50 o/o *romance*. In the first place, such a high percentage of *romance* is extremely unusual as early as 1624, and, in the second place, *El Cerco de Sevilla* (length 2780, redondilla 1391, romance 1180) also historical and dated 1626, two years later, is perfectly normal in this respect. *El Satisfecho*, dated 1634, with a total of 2706 lines, *redondilla* 868 and *romance* 1533, is also normal for its date of composition. The same may be said for *Casarse sin hablarse*, dated Madrid, 1641 (length 2648, *redondilla* 396, *romance* 2038).

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matical percentage of *romance*, two of them have more actual lines of *romance* in a single play.

1. In spite of this tendency, Moreto has one drama, *Las Travesuras de Pantoja* (2068 lines), which is shorter than any by our author.

2. The same is not true of Alarcón and Moreto, whose playwriting extended over a shorter period of time than Belmonte's.

COLLABORATIONS

Algunas Hazañas de las muchas de Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, Marqués de Cañete.

Act I.

(by Mira de Amescua, Conde del Basto & Luis de Belmonte).

Silva	108 lines	
—	108 —	
Pareados	6 —	
Redondilla with estribillo .	30 —	(song)
Octava	64 —	
Redondilla.	464 —	
Romance	350 —	

Act II.

(by Alarcón, Vélez de Guevara & Fern de Ludeña).

Redondilla.	128 lines	
—	124 —	
Romance	240 —	
—	126 —	
—	120 —	
Silva	164 —	

Act III.

(by J. de Herrera, Diego de Villegas, Guillen de Castro & Belmonte).

Redondilla.	60 lines	
—	32 —	
—	20 —	
—	364 —	
—	80 —	
Song	20 —	
Romance	224 —	
—	70 —	

1. In this play three of the chief collaborators contributed almost exactly the same number of lines, viz. Vélez de Guevara 370, Alarcón 368 and Guillén de Castro 364. Belmonte's part is much greater with 964 lines. Guillén de Castro's lines consist entirely of *redondilla*, while the other three mentioned use *redondilla* and *romance* exclusively.

Romancillo	32	—
—	10	—
Silva	64	—
—	14	—
—	53	— (1 odd line)
Tercetos	16	—

Totals.

Redondilla	1272
Romance	1130
Number of lines in play	3174

Fiar de Dios (R 22679)

(by Martinez de Meneses & Luis de Belmonte).

	Act I.	
Redondilla	140	lines
—	456	—
Octava	72	—
Romance	216	—
—	64	—
Song	8	—
Quintilla	72	—
	Act II.	
Redondilla	148	lines
—	213	— (2 incomplete redondilla)
Romance	217	— (1 line lacking)
—	164	— (2 lines lacking)
—	50	—
	Act III.	
Redondilla	92	lines
—	132	—
Pareados endecasílabos	64	—
Silva	12	—
—	32	—
Romance	208	—
—	270	—

Totals.

Redondilla	1181

Romance	1189
Number of lines in play. .	2728

El Hamete de Toledo (R 22654)

(by Luis de Belmonte & D. Antonio Martinez).

	Act I.	
Silva	79 lines	(1 odd line)
Romance	202 —	
—	326 —	
Redondilla.	268 —	
	Act II.	
Redondilla.	224 lines	
—	188 —	
—	68 —	
Silva	184 —	
Romance	182 —	
—	260 —	
	Act III.	
Redondilla.	284 lines	
—	91 —	(1 line lacking)
Quintilla	50 —	
—	190 —	
Romance	218 —	
—	50 —	
—	226 —	

Totals.

Redondilla.	1123
Romance	1464
Number of lines in play. .	3090

El Mejor Amigo el Muerto (T 14835).

	Act I (by Belmonte).	
Octava	8 lines	
Romance	238 —	

—	18 —
—	162 —
—	82 —
Romance (7 & 5 syllable)	4 —
Décima	20 —
Redondilla	62 —
—	64 —

Act II (by Rojas).

Redondilla	99 lines (1 line lacking)
Romance	180 —
—	180 —
—	220 —
—	146 —
—	4 —
—	196 —
Décima	20 —
—	40 —
Prose letter	7 —
Song (6 & 7 syllable)	16 —
—	4 —
—	4 —
—	4 —
Pareados (6 & 7 syllable)	4 —
—	2 —
—	14 —

Act III (by Calderón).

Romance	54 lines
—	186 —
—	180 —
—	82 —
Silva	40 —
Redondilla	98 —
—	52 —

Totals.

Redondilla	365
Romance	1760
Number of lines in play	2310

El Príncipe perseguido (R 17932).

Act I (by Luis de Belmonte).

Romance	659 lines (1 line lacking)
Redondilla	264 —
Quintilla	55 —
Silva	30 —

Act II (by D. Agustin Moreto[1]).

Redondilla	700 lines
Romance	382 —
Quintilla	45 —
Silva	20 —

Act III (by D. Antonio Martinez).

Redondilla	248 lines
Romance	486 —
Silva	56 —
Octava	72 —
Quintilla	105 —
Endecasílabos (assonating)	2 —

Totals.

Redondilla	1212
Romance	1527
Number of lines in play	3124

DOUBTFUL PLAYS

Darles con la entretenida (MS. 14871).

Act I.

Redondilla	92 lines
Romance	672 —
Silva	146 —

1. It is rather surprising to find that the latest dramatist of the three, Moreto, should employ, in the act written by him, so much less *romance* than the other two.

	Act II.	
Redondilla	104 lines	
Romance	624 —	
Silva	59 —	(1 unrimed line)
	Act III.	
Redondilla	28 lines	
Romance	444 —	
Silva	158 —	

Totals.

Redondilla	224
Romance	1740
Number of lines in play	2327

El Diablo predicador (T 14836).

	Act I.	
Silva	12 lines	
—	58 —	
Romance	270 —	
—	192 —	
—	180 —	
—	166 —	
Redondilla	52 —	
—	56 —	
	Act II.	
Romance	212 lines	
—	164 —	
—	194 —	
—	234 —	
—	212 —	
Redondilla	64 —	
—	94 —	
—	72 —	
Décima	10 —	
	Act III.	
Romance	414 lines	
—	328 —	
Redondilla	81 —	(1 faulty line)
Silva	24 —	

Totals.

Redondilla	416
Romance	2566
Number of lines in play	3084

El gran Jorge Castrioto y Principe Escanderbec (R 22698).

	Act I.	
Romance	380 lines	
—	22 —	
—	4 —	
—	82 —	
Redondilla	4 —	
—	26 —	(2 lines lacking)
Soneto	14 —	
Silva	79 —	(3 lines lacking)
Octava	32 —	
	Act II.	
Redondilla	76 lines	
—	24 —	
Romance	194 —	
—	360	
—	12 —	
Silva	22 —	
Quintilla	50 —	
	Act III.	
Romance	224 lines	
—	236 —	
—	248 —	
Silva	50 —	
Octava	48 —	

Totals.

Redondilla	130
Romance	1762
Number of lines in play	2187

La Renegada de Valladolid (MS. 17331).

	Act I.	
Redondilla.	81 lines	
—	72 —	
—	102 —	
Romance	260 —	
—	134 —	
—	116 —	
—	142 —	
—	30 —	(song)
Prose letter	9 —	
	Act II.	
Pareados (11 syllable). . .	45 lines	
— — . .	100 —	
Redondilla.	180 —	
—	24 —	
—	216 —	
Romance	230 —	
—	140 —	
—	100 —	
—	18 —	
Quintilla	45 —	
Song (11 syllable).	2 —	
Décima	16 —	(2 odd 8 syllable lines)
	Act III.	
Redondilla.	120 lines	(2 faulty lines)
—	4 —	
—	136 —	
—	72 —	
Octava	48 —	
Romance	138 —	
—	40 —	
—	144 —	
—	120 —	
Quintilla	15 —	
—	45 —	
Pareados (11 syllable). . .	56 —	(1 faulty line)
Song (quintilla form) . . .	5 —	

Totals.

Redondilla.	936
Romance	1462
Number of lines in play. .	2792

La Renegada de Valladolid (MS. 16808).

	Act I.
Redondilla.	504 lines
Romance	326 —
Silva	80 —
	Act II.
Redondilla.	344 lines
Romance	470 —
Quintilla	40 —
Silva	122 —
	Act III.
Redondilla.	292 lines
Romance	372 —
Silva	30 —
Octava	48 —
Quintilla	65 —
Song	7 —

Totals.

Redondilla.	1140
Romance	1168
Number of lines in play. .	2700

SUMMARY

AUTHENTIC PLAYS BY LUIS DE BELMONTE

Title	Red.	Quint.	Déc.	Rom.	Si va	Suelt.	Oct.	Son.	Misc.
Afanador (El)	1039	100		1260	295				
de Utrera (2694)	38 %	3 %		43 %	13 %				
Amor y Honor	1635	510		434	96				
(2675)	61 %	18 %		16 %	3 %				
Casarse sin	396			2038	218				
hablarse (2648)	15 %			77 %	8 %				
Cerco (El) de	1391	50		1180			104		Pareados
Sevilla (2730)	51 %	1 %		46 %			3 %		8 lines
Conde (El) de	780	75		1274	166				
Fuentes (2720)	28 %	2 %		46 %	6 %				
Desposado (El) por	1061			1423					
fuerza (2484)	42 %			57 %					
En Riesgos luce	1487	352		624	32	93			
el amor (2588)	57 %	13 %		24 %	1 %	3 %			
Hortelano (El) de	220			2092	438				
Tordesillas (275 0)	8 %			76 %	15 %				

Title	Red.	Quint.	Déc.	Rom.	Silva	Suelt.	Oct.	Son.	Misc.
Mejor (El) Tutor	1112	951		472	30			28	
es Dios (2593)	42 %	36 %		18 %	1 %			1 %	
Principe (El)	1220	90		1140	360			28	Romancillo
Villano (2922)	41 %	3 %		39 %	13 %			1 %	84 = 3 %
Sastre (El) del	915	45		1695	602				
Campillo (3261)	28 %	1 %		51 %	18 %				
(con tachados)									
Sastre (El) del	860	40		1516	539				
Campillo (2955)	29 %	1 %		51 %	18 %				
(sin tachados)									
Satisfecho (El)	868			1533	305				
(2706)	31 %			56 %	11 %				
Siete Estrellas	148	70		2088	291				Seguidilla
(Las) de Francia	6 %	2 %		80 %	11 %				7 lines
(2604) [1]									
Trabajos (Los)	1921			652	123			14	
de Ulises (2733)	70 %			24 %	4 %				
Tres Señores (Los)	1480			950	194				Cuarteta
del Mundo (2628)	55 %			36 %	7 %				4 lines

1. *El Mayor Desengaño*, its model, by Tirso de Molina has 3164 lines. See *Bulletin Hisp.*, 1914, t. XVI, pp. 177-208. S. G. Morley.

Title	Red.	Quint.	Déc.	Rom.	Silva	Suelt.	Oct.	Son.	Misc.
COLLABORATIONS									
Algunas Hazañas (Las) etc. (3174) (9 collaborators)	1272 40 %			1130 35 %	594 15 %		64 2 %		Romancillo 32 Tercetos 16 Red. con estrib. 30 Song 6
Fiar de Dios (2728) (Belmonte & Meneses)	1181 43 %	70 2 %		1189 43 %	44 1 %		72 2 %		Endec. 64 & Song 8 = 2 %
Hamete (El) de Toledo (3090) (Belmonte & Meneses)	1123 36 %	240 7 %		1464 47 %	263 8 %				
Mejor Amigo (El) el Muerto (2314) (Belmonte, Rojas Calderón)	365 11 %		80 3 %	1760 76 %	40 1 %				Song 28 Letter 7 Paread. 20
Principe (El) Perseguido (3124) (Belmonte, Moreto & Meneses)	1212 39 %	195 6 %		1527 49 %	106 3 %		72 2 %		

Title	Red.	Quint.	Déc.	Rom.	Silva	Suelt.	Oct.	Son.	Misc.
DOUBTFUL PLAYS									
Darles con la	224			1740	363				
entretenida (2327)	9 %			74 %	15 %				
Diablo (El) Predi-	416		10	2566	94				
cador (3086)	13 %			83 %	3 %				
Gran (El) Jorge	130	50		1762	151		80	14	
Castrioto (2187)	6 %	2 %		79 %	6 %		3 %		
Renegada (La) de	1140	108		1168	232		48		Song 5
Valladolid (2700)	42 %	4 %		43 %	8 %		1 %		
(MS. 16808)									
Renegada (La) de	936	105	10	1462	201		48		Song 7
Valladolid (2788)	32 %	3 %		52 %	7 %		1 %		
(R 22654)									
SEVEN PLAYS BY LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA									
Diablo (El) está en	978	182		1186			68	42	Endec. 70
Cantillana (2526)	38 %	8 %		46 %			2 %	1 %	2 %
Hijos (Los) de la	1179	309		782		177	56	14	Endec. 52 = 2 %

Title	Red.	Quint.	Déc.	Rom.	Silva	Suelt.	Oct.	Son.	Misc.
Barbuda (2618)	45 %	12 %		29 %		6 %	2 %		Tercet. 109 = 4 %
Luna (La) de la	1016		148	1751			96		Romancillo
Sierra (3091)	32 %		4 %	56 %			3 %		80 = 2 %
Más pesa el Rey	492		122	1599	94		80		
que la sangre (2387)	20 %		5 %	67 %	4 %		3 %		
Ollero (El) de	604		80	2020	20		56		Letter 22
Ocaña (2802)	21 %		3 %	72 %			2 %		
Reinar después de	426		190	1372	267				Paread. 26
Morir (2298)	18 %		8 %	59 %	11 %				1 %
Serrana (La) de la	1544		274	1012			96		Tercet. 62 = 1 %
Vera (3305) [1]	46 %		8 %	30 %			3 %		Endec. 271 = 8 %
									Octosil. 56 = 1 %
ONE PLAY BY ANTONIO MARTINEZ DE MENESES									
Tercero(El) de su	733			1618	297				Song 8
Afrenta (2658)	27 %			60 %	11 %				Odd 2

1. *Teatro Antiguo Español*, vol. I, *Luis Vélez de Guevara. La Serrana de la Vera.* Publicada por R. Menéndez Pidal y Ma. Goyri de Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1916, p. 176.

A glance at the above tables shows that Belmonte eschewed almost entirely the use of *décima*[1]. This is particularly surprising when we consider that he was, for the most part, writing at a time when a moderate amount of this meter was found in a majority of the pieces composed. In fact, the use of *décima* is generally one of the signs of a play belonging to a later period, after say, 1610.

An examination of the percentage tables for the meter of fifty of Lope de Vega's plays, beginning a few years before 1610 and continuing through 1634, reveals that he used *décima* four-fifths of the time in the proportion of 9 o/o for each piece where it appears[2]. The same may, on the whole, be said for Alarcón and Moreto[3]. Out of fifty-eight *comedias* by Tirso de Molina the meter under discussion is found in every one[4]. In seven plays by Vélez de Guevara shown in our tables, *décima* appears in five out of seven. The two which have only *quintilla* instead seem to be pieces written at a time when the use of *décima* was rare.

Belmonte uses less *quintilla* than either Lope or Tirso, as much as Alarcón and Moreto, but apparently more than Vélez.

Our author has only one case of *octava*, whereas with the dramatists just mentioned, that meter is of common occurrence. He never employs *tercetos*, and *soneto* only three times.

1. He uses *décima* only once in the plays analysed, in the collaboration, *El Mejor Amigo el Muerto*. See p. 223-4. Here he may have been influenced by his collaborators, Rojas and Calderón.

2. *The Chronology of Lope de Vega's plays*, Milton A. Buchanan University of Toronto Studies, 1922.

3. S. G. Morley, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

4. S. G. Morley, *The use of verse-forms (strophes) by Tirso de Molina.* Bulletin Hispanique, VII (1905), pp. 387-408 ; *El Uso de las combinaciones métricas en las comedias de Tirso de Molina*, ibid., XVI (1914), pp. 177-208.

Aside from the types of dramatic versification just discussed, and *redondilla* and *romance* which are found in all pieces of the period, Belmonte has a greater preference for *silva* than any other of the dramatists with whom we are comparing him. He is far ahead of either Lope or Tirso in this regard, and, apparently, of Luis Vélez de Guevara. In 24 pieces by Alarcón, *silva* appears 15 times. With Moreto the proportion is much greater, however, as he has *silva* in 25 out of 30 plays. Belmonte has slightly more with 13 out of 15 pieces.

In his *comedias* possessing a fair percentage of *romance*, that is to say, in those which contain as much or more *romance* than *redondilla*, the amount of *silva* never falls below 6 o/o and averages 11 o/o [1]. This distinction is not meant to be arbitrary, our reason for making it being that *silva* generally becomes more common as the proportion of *romance* rises.

Of the six pieces among those classed as authentic having over 50 o/o *romance*, three of them have 75 o/o, 77 o/o and 80 o/o respectively, or 2092, 2038 and 2088 lines of *romance* in the order named.

It now remains to apply the foregoing results, first, to the authentic plays, and next, to the doubtful ones.

Among the authentic dramas of our author, there are two which call for discussion. *El Cerco de Sevilla* has no *silva*, but, on the other hand, has *octava*. The explanation is that it is a dramatisation of a long poem, *La Hispálica*, and that once having used this meter, the author did not consider the *silva* necessary [2].

1. We except *El Desposado por fuerza*, a short piece (2482), with 1061 *redondilla* or 42 °/o and 1423 *romance* or 57 °/o and no other meter.

2. There is no question of Belmonte's authorship of *El Cerco de Sevilla*, as several of the lines of the play and the poem are identical. The details of the plot are very similar also.

El Desposado por fuerza, with only two meters and no *silva* or any other meter than *redondilla* and *romance* (57 o/o), presents a more difficult problem. It must be remembered that *Parte* 38 of *Escogidas* (Madrid, 1672), prints this play with the ascription to Fr. Bernardo de Quirós, but as *Parte* 41 of *Diferentes* (Zaragoza, 1646), and two *sueltas* ascribe the piece to Belmonte, he would seem to be the dramatist best entitled to be regarded as the author [1].

How then shall we explain the absence of *silva* in a play obviously written at a time when *silva* was commonly used, and, in particular, by our author ? Although it contains no *décima* the total absence of *silva* or any other eleven line meter is is difficult to account for; a play by our author in his *romance* period should not only have *silva*, but over 5 o/o of it.

The collaborations, being composites, cannot, by their nature, offer good evidence of any one author's manner of verse arrangement, yet, on the other hand, they may assist in showing what to expect of a dramatist when he is not sole judge of the meter which shall be employed. Such pieces may also be good guides, if dated, to the prevailing fashions in dramatic versification.

Algunas Hazañas, etc., was composed by nine playwrights and was published in a single volume in 1622. We may be reasonably certain that it was written in that year. It is interesting to note then that the style of that year still favored less than 50 o/o romance and the *redondilla* continued to exceed *romance* by, at least, 5 o/o.

It will be noted that none of the collaborations except *El Hamete de Toledo* is fully in Belmonte's manner of versification [2]. All, except this play, have some meter which he

1. See p. 230.

2. Even this drama is longer than any play by Belmonte (3090) and decidedly above his average length.

rarely employed in plays written wholly by himself. Moreover, with this exception, none of the others in which *romance* predominates have a sufficient amount of *silva* for a *comedia* of which he is sole author.

We shall now consider plays classed as doubtful. Aside from metrical arrangement, it would seem clear that Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez should be considered as the author of *Darles con la entretenida*, and not Luis Vélez de Guevara [1]. We also believe that this *comedia* fits in very well with the scheme of versification found in the majority of our author's pieces which are classed as authentic.

May the same thing be said of *El Gran Jorge Castrioto ?* Here also, it is a question of an ascription to Vélez de Guevara, and on much stronger grounds than in the case of the preceding play [2]. In our opinion, Vélez, in a drama containing 1762 lines of *romance* would have confirmed to the prevailing practice of using some *décima*, and that, if he had employed *quintilla* instead, the proportion would have been much greater. Our tables show, on the other hand, that such a small percentage of *quintilla* was common with our author. Vélez does favor *octava*, however, which Belmonte has avoided in all except one play, *El Cerco de Sevilla*, already referred to in this respect. Our author may have considered *octava* proper in a drama dealing with love and exploits of such a heroic personage as the great Escanderbey. We are further moved to make this assertion for the reason that the style of this *comedia* resembles Belmonte's rather than Vélez's, and also because it is unlikely that Vélez, who is the unquestioned author of *El Príncipe Esclavo o El Príncipe Escanderbec*, should have written two plays treating of practically the same

1. See p. 183. Note also the similarity in the names of the two dramatists which may have helped to give rise to the confusion.
2. See p. 199.

events, where neither is, in any sense, a continuation of the other.

It should be noted, that *Darles con la entretenida*, also a short piece, contains almost the same proportion of *romance* and *redondilla*, as *El Gran Jorge Castrioto* [1].

We have shown that Belmonte cannot be considered the sole author of either the earlier or later version of *La Renegada de Valladolid* [2]. The tables show that the general result of the revision has been to increase the *romance* by 9 o/o and to decrease the *redondilla* by 10 o/o. The alteration suffered by the other forms of meter is slight, and only 88 lines have been added to the piece. The MS. (No. 16808) ascribes the first act to Belmonte, the second to Moreto and the third to Martínez de Meneses. The printed version gives Belmonte as sole author.

What has just been said brings us to a very interesting point which may have some bearing on the verse forms found in *El Diablo predicador*. The versification of *El Principe perseguido* corresponds, in a general way, to that of the MS. version of *La Renegada de Valladolid*. The same types of meter are present in both, and the same types are absent in both. There is no *décima* in either, whereas, in the second version of *La Renegada de Valladolid*, among other more important changes, ten lines of *décima* have been added in the second act. One play by Moreto, *El mejor amigo el rey*, also contains ten lines of *décima* in the second act only [3].

1. It is not improbable that this play containing only 2187 lines was originally much longer, so that an accurate conclusion as to its meter arrangement is difficult to reach definitely.

2. See, p. 205.

3. When a small amount of *décima*, such as, 10, 20, 30, 40, 50 lines up to 100 is found in a play by Alarcón and Moreto, it is more often found in the second act than in any other. S. G. Morley, *Studies in Spanish Dramatic Versification of the Siglo de Oro. Alarcón and Moreto.* Univ. of Calif. Publications in Modern Philology, 1918, pp. 131-173.

Is he then responsible for the revision ? We have no means of knowing.

How does the versification of *El Diablo predicador* compare with the normal meter arrangement employed by Belmonte ? For the high proportion of *romance* which it contains, it has less *silva* than our author's average. It is a longer play than any by Belmonte [1] and much longer than any of his in which the percentage of *romance* is really great. It has a larger percentage of *romance* than any by Belmonte. There are the same ten lines of *décima* in the second act which occur in the second version of *La Renegada de Valladolid.*

Have we here a later " remaniment " of a drama in which Belmonte had taken part as collaborator ? *El Mejor amigo el Muerto*, the first act of which was composed by Belmonte, begins with 8 lines of *octava*, and the first act of *El Diablo predicador* begins with 12 lines of *silva.* Does this fact indicate that he may have written the first act of the play in question ?

Our conclusion is, that, although the verse forms found in *El Diablo predicador* as it is known to-day, are, in general, those used by Belmonte, the proportions in which they are employed, together with the length of the piece, do not conform to our author's standard in plays written entirely by him.

1. *El Sastre del Campillo* in its final form has 2955 lines.

CHAPTER VI

POETICAL WORKS

The following poems were written by Luis de Belmonte [1] :
La Vida de San Ignacio de Loyola [2].
La Aurora de Cristo.
La Solenissima fiesta, etc.
El Cisne del Jordán.
La Hispálica.

Of the poems mentioned, only three are extant and these are difficult of access.

La Vida del Padre Maestro Ignacio de Loyola fundador de la Compañia de Jesus, published in Mexico by Belmonte in 1609, is a long poem, consisting of two hundred and fifty-six *hojas* of *quintillas dobles*, divided into ten books.

Of this piece we have seen only the *Elogio* by Mateo Alemán and the *Dedicatoria* and prologue by Luis de Belmonte, together with the first and last stanzas.

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1. La Barrera, Cat., pp. 28, 29 et 30.
2. The only copy known was formerly in the library of the Marqués de Jérez de los Caballeros in Madrid, but is now in the Hispanic Society Library, New York. The poem was not later reprinted in Spain as Belmonte promised in the short prologue to the *Aurora de Cristo.*

First stanza :

Yo aquel que por gusto solo
Del bajo y humilde suelo
Pretendí de Polo a Polo
Resonar subiendo el buelo
Sobre los montes de Apolo.

Last stanza :

Alfin el ingenio y arte
Fue con el trabajo parte
Con que la tela se cría
Donde descansa la mía
Hasta la segunda parte.

The *Elogio* by Mateo Alemán praises our author's *gallardo estilo... grandeza i hidalguía, merecedora de todo premio* and his *dulces y sonores versos* [1].

Belmonte's *Dedicatoria* is as follows :

Tantos milagros, tan eroica y penitente vida, como la del varón celestial que mis humildes versos celebran que ombros la pudieran sustenar, para hazerla pública al mundo, en prouecho del, como los de su escojida Relijion : en ella como en robusto Atlante puede, y es bien que estribe, el firme cielo de su valeroso fundador (que cielo puede llamarse, el que se crió para el cielo) a ella pues como a tan justo dueño de mi trabajo es bien, que deje su amparo, que con el bolara mi nombre a la esfera mas alta, sin temor que (colocado en tan sublime lugar) se atreuan, los Jigantes de lengua a hazerle guerra, subidos sobre los montes de su ignorancia y malicia, que dando el mío aunque humilde (por serlo yo tanto) florido y verde como el Cyteron o el Pindo con tan dichosa defensa.

The woodcut of the author accompanying the poem would appear to be that of a man in his twenty-second or twenty-third year.

1. Folios 8 et 12.

We insert the following from the prologue by Belmonte to the *Letor*, as it contains a reference to the *Hispálica :*

Pero si con agradable oido escuchares mi çampoñuela rústica y por ventura te agradare : me animaré con nueuo aliento a presentarte (aunque sirua de paréntesis a nuestra obra) la Hispálica que contiene la conquista de Sevilla, por el Rey don Fernando. Soberbia es grande atreuerme en verso heroico a cantar en el Siglo presente donde ya los ingenios, frisan con los que eternizaron a Troya y Grecia ; mas si tu me animas, no haré mucho en darle a mi patria lo que tan justamente le deuo [1].

The last stanza of the poem promises a second part, and the prologue makes the following reference to it :

Te pido... que tomes a tu cargo la segunda parte que no tiene menos campo que el que me ofreció la primera [2].

We have no other notice of a second part than this.

La *Aurora de Cristo* is a moderatley long poem consisting of two hundred and fifty-six verses of *octavas* and divided into five books. The subject is that of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary. It was printed in Seville in 1616 [3].

The *aprobación* is dated Madrid, August 17, 1615, and the *Privilegio* in the month of October 1615. We have already referred to the prologue [1] and the dedication is to " Don Juan del Castillo del consejo del Rey nuestro Señor y oydor en la Real Audiencia de Sevilla ". The dedication ends with these words :

Pues sabiendo que sin salir de los muros de mi patria tenía el favor, y amparo que pudiera pedir sin desseo propuse el temor que de la

1. Folios 16 et 17.
2. Folio 15.
3. Bib. Nac. Madrid. No. R 11998.

humildad del presente pudiera retraerme, ofreciendolo a v. m. para que sea debaxo de su amparo, lo que la eneida a la sombre de Agusto.

First stanza :

Canto la Aurora que del limpio Oriente
Bañó la tierra con igual rocío
Madre del Sol que del nublado frío
Rompió la fuerça con la suya ardiente,
Y a la sazón llegó que en vuestra fuente
Bañéys mis labios soberana Clío,
Que mal podré cantar de limpia Aurora.
Sino un baño en vuestra fuente agora.

Last stanza :

Dile en mi nombre, quando llegue el dia
Que una creatura, que formó su Hijo
(que soy su hechura, pues por el me rijo)
Dize que es limpia como el sol María,
Dixo, y el agua de su claustro fría
Baxando con ilustre regocijo,
Vistió de aljófar como el agua altera
Las tiernas flores de su gran ribera.

Book I.

Luzbel contemplates Paradise in bitterness. He reflects that he was able to make the first woman, the wife of Adam, sin but doubts his success with the Virgin Mary.

Book II.

The author recounts the biblical history and genealogy prior to the birth of Christ. He points to Joachim who has no son, but will have a daughter, the Holy Virgin Mary, the sinless one, the Mother of Christ, the one whom the devil will tempt in vain.

Book III.

Joachim and his wife are very much perturbed over the fact that the latter is barren. Biblical events are further recorded.

Book IV.

Joachim is told that he would have a daughter, born without original sin, whose name would be Maria. The prayers of Joachim and Ana are answered, and the Virgin Mary, conceived without original sin is born unto them.

> Dulce una voz al mismo Dios dezía
> Sin culpa original saldrá María.

Book V.

The poet speaks of Italy which shall first receive the faith and of Spain which shall carry it to the Indies. Seville which shall have such pious devotion to the Virgin Mary is spoken of. Great stress is laid on the fact that the Virgin Mary, being born without original sin is free from that struggle between good and evil which all sons of Adam are heir to.

The best poetry is to be found in the first book, and the following two stanzas express the main thought of the poem :

> Si quando Adan pecó, Maria estuviera
> Engendrada, ignorando Dios que avía
> De ser el medio universal María,
> Qual todos por la ley passado vuiera,
> Entonses lo que Dios por ella hiziera
> Como a tercera generosa y pía
> Fuera santificalla ylustramente
> Con mano liberal omnipotente.
> . . . . . .

Mas si desde Abeterno fué guardada
Para madre del Verbo Sacrosanto,
A quien no causa admiración y espanto
Pensar que fue su concepción manchada ?
Si Christo avía de ser la regalada
Triaca del veneno, risa al llanto
Porque avía de ocupar (de amor prendado)
Antidoto de Dios vaso manchado.

In the same book Luzbel is thus vividly described :

Luzbel perdiendo del enojo parte
La serpentina máscara se quita,
Y entre arrogancias que feroz vomita,
A dar la nueva de su triunfo parte.
Que pudo necio Adan aprovecharte
La gracia tuya si mi voz te incita ?
Le dize el ofensor del universo
Perverso en obras en la voz perverso.
. . . . . .
Bate la tierra con soberbia planta
Rebentando un volcán de açufre y fuego
Por donde a recibirle vano y ciego
Su exército abrasado se adelanta
Abrió el trifauce su voraz garganta,
Sin que le vrinden con injuria o ruego,
Y recibiendo al bárbaro faetonte
Tembló la Estigia, se turbó Aqueronte [1].

Epics on the same theme which had appeared before Belmonte's are: Padilla (Fray Pedro), *Grandezas y excelencias de la Virgen nuestra Señora*, Madrid, 1587.

Sierra (Alfonso), *Misterios de la vida de Cristo y Virgen Maria*, 1605.

Valdivielso (El maestro José de), *Vida excelencias y muerte del gloriosissimo patriarca San José*, Toledo, 1607; Madrid, 1612. (Vol. 29. Bib. Aut. Esp.)

1. The arrangement of the rimes is not that of the regular *octava*, but is : abbssbcc.

Hójeda (Padre Fray Diego de), *La Cristiada*, Seville, 1611. (Vol. 17. Bib. Aut. Esp.)

It is quite probable that our author was influenced by the last mentioned poem which appeared in Seville in 1611. The following two stanzas from *La Cristiada, Libro Quarto* bear considerable resemblance to those which we have already quoted from *La Aurora de Cristo :*

Mas Lucifer en el tartário abismo
De horror poblado y de tinieblas lleno,
Donde habita el confuso barbarismo
De verdad falto y de virtud ajeno,
Manda llamar y llama por sí mismo
Con voz terrible de espantoso trueno,
A nuevas grandes generales cortes
El osado escuadrón de sus consortes.

. . . . . .

Sonó la voz y retumbó en las hondas
Y ardientes cuevas del opaco infierno
Y del Leteo las turbadas ondas
Movimiento sintieron casi eterno,
Vueltas haciendo en huracán redondas,
Con aue perdió espantado su gobierno
Y timón el solícito Aqueronte :
Tal pavor puso en todo su horizonte [1].

La solenissima fiesta y procession, que hace la Ilustre Cofradía de la Pura y Limpia Concepción a su Imagen, llevándole de el Monasterio de Regina Coeli, a la iglesia mayor y de allí al Convento de San Francisco, etc. (Sevilla). Francisco Lyra, 1616.

This poem is mentioned by Gallardo in his Catalogue, but no copy seems to be extant so that we have no means of judging of its length [2].

1. Bib. Aut. Esp., vol. XVII, 428.
2. Gallardo.

The *Cisne del Jordán* is apparently known only through its mention in the prologue to the *Hispálica.*

Belmonte's most ambitious poem is *La Hispálica.* We have already discussed its subject in the analysis and notes of the play, *El Cerco de Sevilla por el Rey Fernando III*[1]. This poem is divided into three books of unequal length, the first two being very short, the last one comprising almost the entire work. The *Hispálica* consists of fifteen hundred *octavas.*

According to Don Santiago Montoto who published the *Hispálica* for the first time in 1921, it was finished in 1618, the MS. containing no date of composition. Sr. Montoto, in his introduction gives no reason for his conclusion, but undoubtedly bases this finding to the reference in the *prólogo* of the poem, *La Aurora de Cristo* (Seville, 1616), as being the poet's last work. The *prólogo* by Juan Bermúdez y Alfaro states that Belmonte spent eighteen years in the composition of the *Hispálica.* This statement would appear to be exaggerated as our author mentions, in his own prologue to *La Aurora de Cristo,* that he wrote the *Hispálica* after his return from Mexico[2]. As *La Vida del Patriarca Ignacio de Loyola* was printed in 1609 in Mexico with preface by the author, we must infer that he was in Mexico at the time, and did not return to Spain until some later date.

Whatever may have been the amount of time employed by Belmonte in the composition of his long poem (a difficult question under any circumstances), we do possess evidence making it reasonably clear that the *Hispálica* was finished

1. See pp. 70, 153.

2. Belmonte's prologue reads : " te haré un presente de la vida del Patriarca Ignacio de Loyola que en coplas castellanas imprimí en Mexico *y a vueltas del la Hispálica,* poema heroyco. " In spite of the assertion just quoted, there is no evidence that the *Hispálica* was printed before 1921. Belmonte must refer here only to its composition.

before the end of the reign of Philip III, that is to say, before 1621. Very near the end of the poem mention is made of the kings of Spain in the form of prophecy, down to and including Philip III [1]. This fact and the mention of *La Aurora de Cristo* as our author's last work would lend strength to Sr. Montoto's assumption that the poem was completed in 1618.

The *Hispálica*, through its models, *La Conquista de la Bética* (printed 1603) by Juan de la Cueva, and *La Hermosura de Angélica* (printed 1604 but written in 1602) by Lope de Vega, is a descendant of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* and Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*.

Juan de la Cueva's poem which treats of the same subject as the *Hispálica* is somewhat longer than the latter. *La Conquista de la Bética* is throughout more martial in spirit than the *Hispálica*. Belmonte has, with considerable changes, of course, recreated Juan de la Cueva's *Bética* under the poetical inspiration of Lope de Vega's *Angélica*. The latter poem, though it does not treat of the taking of Seville by Fernando, does, however, deal with the same city at an earlier period.

Belmonte's main plot clearly comes from Juan de la Cueva : the alternate description of the Christian and Moorish forces with the final taking of the city by Fernando, bears a strong resemblance to the *Bética*. From this poem, too, he takes the general idea of his love plot which, however, he alters with suggestions received from Lope's *Angélica*. Lope's poem is much more complicated than either of the other two.

In the Bética, Botalhá, the Moorish King, comes to Seville from Africa. In Seville he wins Alguaidaira, daughter of the King of Seville, from a jealous rival. To escape his rival's wicked intrigues, he flees with the princess to the Christian side. Later, Tarfira comes to Spain to claim Botalhá who

1. See pp. 305-306 of Montoto's edition.

was her betrothed, though he now spurns her love. After the taking of Seville, Tarfira accepts Christianity and finally ceases to love Botalhá who, with the other Moors, passes over to Africa accompanied by the Moorish princess, though his old love for Tarfira has begun to revive, but in vain.

Belmonte's hero, Bermudo, is a Christian who falls in love with a Moorish princess, called Celaura, from Africa. Bermudo like Botalhá, spurns the attentions of another Moorish princess whom he once had loved. One of Lope's many pairs of lovers in the *Angélica* consists of Lisardo, a Christian, and Belcorayda, a Moorish princess. Thus we may account for Belmonte's idea to make his hero a Christian. Another point of similarity is that Belcorayda meets her death at the hands of Carpanto, a Turk and a sort of monster, after he has been mortally wounded, as also does Celaura in the *Hispálica*, at the hands of the terrible Corsair, just before he dies of his wounds. We have already explained that the trick used by Celaura to have the boatman stab the monster was taken by our author from one of Lope's earlier plays [1].

There are further resemblances between Belmonte's *Hispálica* and Lope's *Angélica*. For instance, the enumeration of the Spanish kings down to the date of the composition of the poem, in the form of prophecy, occurs in each [2]. Another fact which would appear to be more than coincidence, is that both poems are dedicated to Juan de Arguijo, *veinticuatro* of Seville.

In dealing with Belmonte's life we have already quoted verses from the *Hispálica* [3]. The stanzas which follow will

1. See pp. 153-4.

2. See pp. 305-306 of Montoto's edition of *La Hispálica* printed Seville, 1921, and *Canto X* of *La Hermosura de Angélica* by Lope de Vega. See also pp. 246-247 of *La Hispálica* where Belmonte mentions Lope and his poem, praising both highly.

3. See pp. 4 et 5.

serve to illustrate certain features of our author's poetical style.

He thus describes Seville before its capture by the Christians :

> Tres millas en su torno el muro abraza,
> del terreno mejor que el sol rodea;
> tan ancho a partes, que de campo y plaza
> servir puede a la escuadra que pelea;
> su bello asiento, su hermosura y traza,
> dudo no sin razón, que igual se vea;
> ciento y sesenta y seis torres encierra
> copiosas de soldado diestro en guerra [1].

In common with other heroic poems of the period, there is a good sprinkling of humor :

> El que primero se presenta ufano
> del rey soberbio a la creciente luna,
> Juan de las Cuevas es que huyendo en vano,
> para esconderse no descubre alguna.
> A Illán del Río le cargó la mano
> con tan dichosa y próspera fortuna,
> que, abriéndose un canal por las entrañas,
> echó al mar de la muerte sus hazañas.
>
> Como si fuera el yelmo blando plomo
> a Hoyos le aumentó en pequeña pieza
> el nombre, porque pudo alfange y pomo
> serville de penacho en la cabeza;
> herido Barrionuevo ignora el cómo
> pueda escapar de su mayor fiereza,
> que epicúrea la muerte en tanto cebo
> hace mudar el moro a Barrionuevo.
>
> A Mendo de Lacalle al mismo talle
> le obliga a agonizar la muerte fea,

1. *La Hispálica*, p. 114.

que porque no se vaya de la calle
la ata de sólo un golpe a Juan Correa :
marchita a Flores y regando a Valle
con sangre suya, mengua en la pelea,
quebrado espejo y sin humor las venas
deja sangriento el campo con arenas [1].

Sometimes his humor resembles that of the Italian poems of the same kind : the monster who finds Alí and Hazem engaged in a duel to the death, puts an end to their struggle by slaying both.

A tal sazón por el cristal rómpía
en una vara, habiendo muerto al dueño
el que a Libia dejó sin monarquía,
como el que escapa de profundo sueño :
el agua en vez de remos, dividía
con fuerza pura de un rejado leño,
llega y los moros al monstrarse ufanos,
sobre el palenque de cristales vanos.

Alza el pasado fresno, y cual si fuera
el premio aquel, suspensa la barquilla,
treguas les pone en la contienda fiera
y rojos monumentos en la orilla :
a Hazem la frente sobre el pecho humilla,
quedando en vez de la buscada joya
sobre las aguas como suelta boya [2].

The following, however, was certainly not meant as humor, and is merely evidence of bad taste. Belmonte describes the angel's appearance before King Fernando :

Ante el amable defensor de España,
que persevera en el humilde lloro
el ángel se presenta en la campaña,
guardándole el debido real decoro [3].

1. *La Hispálica*, p. 234.
2. *La Hispálica*, pp. 249-250.
3. *Idem*, p. 144.

The monster, who has just been mortally wounded, seizes Celaura whom he succeeds in killing before succumbing. This is hardly the place for facetiousness.

> Calló Celaura, y del cabello de oro
> porque no falte a la ocasión cabello,
> la coge el monstro que perdió el decoro
> al antes adorado vulto bello [1].

Like Lope's *Angélica*, *La Hispálica* abounds in love poetry [2].

We close our quotations with the following three *octavas* found near the end of the poem which possess considerable dignity and strength :

> Un rey da por fiador y dos prelados,
> martir es él y confesores ellos,
> y si de amores trata regalados,
> también te rogarán ángeles bellos.
> Justa y Rufina que los verdes prados
> de Sevilla con sangre de sus cuellos
> por ti bañaron, por Fernando ruegan
> y como damas que te buscan llegan.
>
> Ha, Señor, no se dilate el día
> que la Mezquita convertida en templo
> goce feliz el nombre de María
> en cuya voz su devoción contemplo;
> sagrados himnos mientras dure el día,
> de serafines al divino ejemplo,
> es bien te canten en divinos coros,
> y no blasfemias de engañados moros.
>
> Bajó los ojos y bañando en grana,
> verguenza virginal, el rostro grave,
> Cristo la magestad mostrando humana
> beso le dió de paz que honrarle sabe.

1. *Idem*, p. 302.
2. Good examples of this are to be found in *La Hispálica*, pp. 198-210.

Tendrá Fernando la primer manaña
de la ciudad que aflige imperio y lave
y mientras el abismo cobre espanto,
nombre de vencedor, de rey, de Santo [1].

There is often a musical quality to Belmonte's verse. At times he succeeds in imparting to the pompous and grandiloquent *octava* a flexibility and rhythm equal to some of Ercilla's best lines. The effort is, however, not sustained, and we too often find our author lapsing into the meaningless bombast and exhibitions of bad taste already noted. However much we might wish to excuse Belmonte by countering that more famous poets than he have been guilty of these same lapses, the unevenness of quality referred to would make it extremely difficult to save more than a small part of his poetical work from the oblivion to which it has been consigned by posterity.

William A. KINCAID.

1. *La Hispálica*, p. 322.

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HUGO ALBERT RENNERT

Hugo Albert Rennert made his final choice of a profession in the year 1885 when, at the age of twenty-seven, he accepted appointment as instructor in French and German at the University of Pennsylvania. This decision was reached only after a considerable amount of experimentation, for his tastes and interest were manifold in his youth and early manhood. From 1872 to 1876 he studied in the School of Science of the University of Pennsylvania, and devoted his leisure hours to Latin, Greek and Sanscrit, and to French and German which he had acquired at home in his early years. After receiving his degree, he refused an appointment as engineer, and continued the study of Sanscrit and the classical languages with a view to preparing himself to teach these subjects.

He was also interested in painting, and this took him to Paris for a period of study at the École des Beaux-Arts. He often used to refer in conversation to the value of the training he received there, and at times regretted that he had not chosen painting as his profession. In later years, he turned back with enthusiasm to his early love. To it he devoted a considerable part of his summers spent at Ogunquit, Maine, and the charming landscapes and seascapes brought home each fall from his vacation show talent of a high order.

Still another experiment was to be made before he settled down to his life's work. He entered the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania, received his degree in the year 1881, and practised law until his appointment as instructor in modern languages in 1885.

The young instructor, with his broad background and passion for knowledge was not satisfied to remain indefinitely as a " Sprachlehrer ". Facilities for advanced training in Romance philology and literary history scarcely existed in the United States in the late eighties, and Dr. Rennert therefore applied for a leave of absence in 1889 to continue his studies in Germany. At the University of Göttingen he studied French historical grammar and French literature with Vollmöller, Old English with Brandl, History of Greek Philosophy with Baumann, and Sanscrit with Kielhorn. At the University of Freiburg in Breisgau he attended the lectures of Baist in Old French and Spanish, of Levy in Provençal, Schröer in Old English and Schwarzmann in Sanscrit, and under the direction of Baist, he prepared his thesis on the Spanish pastoral romances and received his doctorate in the spring of 1891.

So far as I know, Rennert was the first American who came into direct contact with some of the founders of the new scientific method of the seventies and eighties as applied to Spanish linguistics and literary history. It was natural that he should have accepted as his own the ideals of exact scholarship of his teachers, Baist and Vollmöller, and of their truly great contemporaries such as Gaston Paris and Paul Meyer, Schuchardt and Foerster, Stengel and Tobler. He belonged to a generation that believed that the bulky tomes of Gröber's " Grundriss " contained a mention, at least, of everything related to the Romance languages and literatures that deserved serious study. Of the older men of that group he always spoke with profound respect, and while, of course,

he followed closely and with interest the newer methods in linguistic and literary investigation and the publications of younger men, he never seemed to feel that they would occupy the same exalted position as the Olympians with whom he had been brought into contact at the beginning of his career.

From them he learned what is now familiar to all, namely, that the serious study of the older authors must be based upon reliable texts drawn from manuscript sources. He realized, then, that in order to continue in America the type of scholarly work for which his training fitted him, it would be necessary to collect in the great European libraries manuscript material which he might study after his return home. Visits to London, Paris, Florence and Madrid yielded a rich harvest of careful transcriptions which formed the basis for later publications. It was also during his residence abroad that he purchased a large number of rare books at the sale of the Salvá Library in London, which were to form the nucleus of what was to become later the most valuable private Spanish library in America.

He returned to his post at the University of Pennsylvania in 1891 and two years later was appointed Professor of Romanic Languages and Literatures, a position which he held up to the time of his death on December 31, 1927. In his advanced classes, he limited himself exclusively to linguistics and the older periods of literary history. Old French, Old Provençal, Old Spanish, the Sicilian poets, Dante, Petrarch, Old Portuguese, Old Catalan—these were the courses he preferred, and only in the case of Spanish did he care to cross over into the seventeenth century. He had little interest in the more modern aspects of literature, but in the very extensive field which so modestly he called his own, his knowledge was accurate and critical. In bibliographical matters he had an astounding memory. He always ascri-

bed far more importance to the discovery of new facts and to the preparation of reliable texts than to literary criticism, which plays an unimportant part in his writings.

The appended bibliography of his publications, beginning with four reviews published in 1891 and ending with an article included in the " Homenage a Menéndez Pidal " records his contributions to knowledge, and reflects his tastes in letters and in scholarly investigation. It is significant that the first three reviews deal with his three favourite authors : Cervantes, Dante and Lope de Vega. These were followed by the publication of his doctoral dissertation on the Spanish pastoral romances in 1892, a topic that claimed his attention from time to time for many years. Each of the important pastoral novels was subjected to a critical analysis, and biographical material for each author was carefully assembled. In the course of time Rennert was able to complete his collection of the pastorals by the acquisition of many rare volumes, and the study of these led him in 1912 to re-write the earlier work in which he included a great amount of new material which subsequent researches had brought to light. This volume continues to be one of the most authoritative monographs dealing with a single Spanish literary genre that we possess. The publication in 1892 of important documents regarding an interesting incident in the life of Suárez de Figueroa was a by-product of his study of " La constante Amarilis ".

Chiefly through the influence of Baist, Rennert became interested in making known the contents of various inedited manuscripts of fifteenth-century Spanish verse. His most important publication in this field is his edition of the " Cancionero " of the British Museum in 1895, the first edition, if I am not mistaken, of any fifteenth-century collection of Spanish verse that followed the newer methods of textual criticism. New texts were made available for comparative

study with other similar collections, variant readings with other printed versions were recorded and all available biographical material regarding the authors included in the *cancionero* was given. From the same manuscript he had previously published a number of inedited verses of Juan Rodríguez del Padrón. Of the same general character is his article " Some Unpublished Poems of Fernán Pérez de Guzmán " which appeared in 1897.

The same may be said of his important edition of " Macías o Namorado " which appeared in 1900. Here be sought to distinguish between truth and fiction in the early accounts of the hapless *trobador* and assigned a date for his verses considerably earlier than had previously been accepted. He also presented a critical edition of the poems that have been ascribed to Macías; presented judicious arguments regarding their authorship, and included a useful study of various characteristics of Galician in the latter half of the fourteenth century, drawn largely from documents contemporaneous with the poet's verse. This study had the honour of a Spanish translation in 1904.

As might be expected, the drama of the Golden Age also occupied much of his time during the early years of his scholarly activity. In an article published in 1893 he presented arguments in support of a statement made by Baist that Miguel Sánchez should be regarded as a precursor rather than as a follower of Lope de Vega. These arguments were amplified in the introduction of his edition of Sánchez's " La isla bárbara " and " La guarda cuidadosa " which appeared three years later. This volume is important in making accessible two exceedingly rare plays and in raising definitely the problem as to Sánchez's position in the development of the drama. Some critics have accepted Rennert's conclusions, while others regard as inconclusive his arguments in favour of considering Sánchez as a forerunner of Lope de Vega.

Rennert was the first critic who recognized clearly the importance of using Lope's autographs as the basis for reliable editions of his plays. In 1893 he printed the variant readings of the autograph of "Santiago el verde" in the British Museum and the Hartzenbusch edition, and the following year he edited "Sin secreto no hay amor" from an autograph also preserved at the British Museum, together with variants from a rare *suelta*. If all subsequent editors of Lope's plays had adopted his criteria for the establishment of an authoritative text, we should possess far more reliable editions than are at present available.

The next few years produced further important studies in the drama. In 1899 appeared an edition of Guillén de Castro's "Ingratitud por amor" with a more complete biographical study than had hitherto appeared. In his article entitled "Mira de Mescua et 'La judía de Toledo'" he treated extensively of the relations between the author and Lope de Vega, and described the manuscript of this play preserved at the Boston Public Library. In another article published about the same time he discussed the autograph manuscript of Lope's 'El castigo sin venganza', and the reasons why his play was withdrawn from the stage after one performance.

In one of the first letters, dated May 7, 1899, written to Rennert by Fitzmaurice-Kelly, occurs the following paragraph which throws some light upon the genesis of "The Life of Lope de Vega", which appeared in 1904:

"I wonder if you, who are clearly at home in the subject, have ever felt tempted to give us an English Life of Lope? There is something so human about Lope that it is hard not to feel for him something very like a personal affection for him. However, I must not hold the apple before you in this way, lest I should tempt you away from a field of work where you are doing what none of the rest of us have done or can do."

In a letter dated December 12, 1900, Fitzmaurice-Kelly wrote : " It is capital news that you are at work on Lope's biography : nobody could be better equipped for the task, and the task is a hard one. You will certainly clear up many matters that are now very obscure. "

There can be no doubt that Rennert realized fully the difficulties that confronted him in his undertaking, but, on the other hand, there was no one better equipped than he, with the possible exception of Menéndez y Pelayo, to write a new life of Lope de Vega. He knew his background thoroughly and had spent many years in the critical study of Lope's plays and non-dramatic writings, most of which he possessed in early editions in his own library. Since his biography of Lope was written wholly in Philadelphia he was not in a position to offer new facts drawn from inedited documents. It was his task, therefore, to bring together and interpret critically material published by Barrera, Pérez Pastor, Asenjo Barbieri and other scholars, supplementing this by a careful examination of the *comedias* and the lyrical verse, insofar as these contained information bearing upon the poet's life. When the book appeared, regret was expressed here and there that Rennert had paid so little attention to Lope's plays. It is regrettable that he did not find time to write a volume on Lope's dramatic and non-dramatic work, but it is hard to see how this could have been done in a volume that sought to include every scrap of information available relating to the poet's life. Rennert preferred to write a biography rather than a critical study because he was more interested in the collecting and assembling of facts than in literary criticism, but with all his insistence upon source material, he makes of Lope a thoroughly human personality and the book has a literary finish which makes its reading in every way delightful.

His interest in bibliography led him to include in his vo-

lume Chorley's revised catalogue of Lope's plays which Fitzmaurice-Kelly discovered in the British Museum. With his characteristic modesty, he speaks in a preliminary note of his own labours in bringing up to date this catalogue, compiled in 1864, which in its new form laid the basis for the bibliography of Lope's plays. Further bibliographical studies resulted in the publication of an article in 1906 with the title " Notes on some Comedias of Lope de Vega ", and in a complete revision in 1915 of the list of plays published as an Appendix to the " Life of Lope de Vega ".

Anyone reading the early publications of Professor Rennert on the Spanish drama must realize his interest in theatrical companies and other questions relating to the stage in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As time went on, these matters claimed more and more attention. In 1907 he published an article on " The Staging of Lope de Vega's Comedias ", in which he discusses the resources, or rather the limitations, of the stage in Lope's day, basing his conclusions, for the most part, upon stage directions found in original editions of the comedias. In the same year appeared his list of " Spanish Actors and Actresses between 1560 and 1680 " which contains a vast amount of theatrical history brought together in usable form.

Many new facts had been brought to light regarding the Spanish stage by Sánchez-Arjona, Cotarelo y Mori, and especially by Pérez Pastor in a series of important publications, but no one since the days of Pellicer had essayed to bring together these scattered references in the form of a continuous and coherent narrative. This task was undertaken by Professor Rennert and carried out with conspicuous success in his handsome volume " The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega ". One can only marvel at his patience, industry and skill in transforming a great mass of unrelated facts and chance allusions into a delightful historical narra-

tive. The rise and fall of the various theatres is described; mere names of actors and actresses become interesting personalities and performances of plays are faithfully pictured. It is likely that, in the course of time, new facts regarding Spanish stage history will be uncovered, but we may reasonably expect that for many years Rennert's book will remain the standard work on this subject.

During the latter years of his life Dr. Rennert was chiefly engaged in the revision of earlier publications. His editions of two sixteenth-century plays " Farça a manera de tragedia " and " Marco Antonio y Cleopatra " are important for the study of the early drama, but most of his time was claimed by the revision of his volume on the pastoral romances and of his bibliography of Lope, and by his collaboration with Américo Castro in the Spanish version of " The Life of Lope de Vega ". In the last years, when illness had laid a heavy hand upon him, he worked to the limits of his strength on a second revision of his list of Spanish actors and actresses, the manuscript of which is now preserved, with all his books, in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania.

Dr. Rennert was, I think, the handsomest man I ever saw. There was nothing in his appearance that betrayed his lifelong practice of burning midnight oil. Always immaculately dressed, with ruddy complexion and athletic step, he gave on first sight the impression of being more at home in an exclusive club than in a library or class-room. As a young man, he was fond of sports, especially rowing, and though later, more active forms of exercise had to be given up, he played tennis until he was well past sixty. Inherently modest, he took pains to conceal the extent of his knowledge, and listened with deference to opinions expressed by others. He was keenly interested in the work of associates in his own field, and in discussing their work, whether publicly or privately, was always ready to praise rather than to condemn.

While students of Spanish literature honour him for his many valuable contributions to the literary history of Spain, those of us who had the rare privilege of intimate association with him in the class-room recall tenderly his never-failing kindliness, and the encouragement and inspiration we invariably received from him.

J. P. Wickersham CRAWFORD.

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THE LETTERS OF JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY TO HUGO ALBERT RENNERT

On December 4, 1898, Dr. Rennert published in the Philadelphia Press a three column review of Fitzmaurice-Kelly's " History of Spanish Literature " and sent a copy to the author. Fitzmaurice-Kelly's letter of acknowledgment, dated February 27, 1899, marked the beginning of a long correspondence, and of a long and intimate friendship. Many times in the old days when I was a student of Dr. Rennert, he took delight in reading to us the latest letter from " Fitz ", as he affectionately termed him, and many times during the last two or three years of his life when illness stayed his pen, I found him re-reading these letters which recalled so many happy memories. They have been placed temporarily at my disposal—one hundred and forty-five in number and extending from February 27, 1899 to June 5, 1920. For many reasons it is impossible to publish all, and I have, therefore, chosen to copy a few, in whole or in part, which seem to possess special interest for Hispanists. Three or four letters have also been included because of their rare literary flavour, but here, especially, a choice was difficult because Fitzmaurice-Kelly had the gift of imparting literary form to remarks on the most commonplace topic.

In one of his letters (XII) he comments modestly and humourously on the interest taken by friends in his correspon-

dence, and the explanation he makes that when " literature is in your bones it will come out somehow, without your being aware of the when, why and how, " is thoroughly typical of him. Along with this gift of expression, one marvels at the man's vitality, exuberance and gay spirits. He invariably sought to relieve a discussion of tedious details by a humorous story or an apt illustration. A few examples will suffice to show his buoyancy of spirit. Writing on August 3, 1903 regarding some stupid misprints found in the proof of Rennert's " Life of Lope de Vega " he says : " I can only suppose that *a priori* every printer sets out with the fixed conviction that every writer is a raving lunatic. There may be exceptions : it may be conceivable (for the sake of the argument) that neither you nor I are lunatics. But we have to prove it : evidently the presumption is against us and all other Knights of the Quill. Some of the things printers ascribe to their victims are beyond belief. I will give you a case in point which has the merit of being historically true. Cardinal Newman happened to write a singularly clear hand; his immense reputation as a master of English prose, his unique position in other ways, the certainty that every word he wrote would be read the whole world overlong, made publishers most anxious to issue his works and to produce them in a suitable form. Most of his books were published by Longmans, one of the best houses in the country, and they naturally employed the best printers in the trade. Now one of Newman's books—the *Grammar of Development* —was dedicated to the famous lawyer, Sergeant Bellasis, in these words, written with exquisite clearness on the manuscript :—" To Sergeant Bellasis in memory of a long, equable and sunny friendship. " It came back to Newman in this astounding form :—" To Sergeant Bellasis in memory of a long squabble, and funny friendship. " The Cardinal was a most saintly man with great powers of self-control : he

needed them surely when the proof first caught his eye. "

Never have I read more delightful nonsense than his letter of September 8, 1903, à propos of a book that proposed to reveal the true identity of the author of " Don Quixote " by means of a cryptogram. After declaring that when he became Perpetual Director of the Universe, he would make a clean sweep of all lewd fellows who indulge in such mysteries, he continues in this vein :—

" You must often have wondered who wrote *Don Quixote*. So have I—from the standpoint of an outsider. But fortunately I have the key in my pocket... Very likely you have noticed on the title-page the words—Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, or something to that effect. Now, this would not deceive a child. Nothing ever does mean what it seems to mean, and why should this be an exception ? No, no ! the plain fact is—I don't want it to go any further, but I will make a clean breast of it—' I writ' Don Quixote!! ' Every darned ' line of it!...

You will notice that those words Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra are put in quite a prominent place on the title-page. That in itself is a suspicious circumstance. Whc was this Cervantes ? And Echo answers.—Who ? Did you ever meet him ? Did you ever meet anybody who professed to have met him ? Never! The very name is suspect. Look at what professes to be the man's baptismal certificate. His name is spelt quite differently. There it appears as CARVANTES. We are getting on, but even that is not quite right : for the *n* ought to be *m*. The pseudonymous Bachiller Serrano who lent himself to these proceedings entered into the joke with such zest that in his merriment he left out one of his pothooks and hangers. No : CARVAMTES was what he meant to write. And the asinine printer botched the whole thing by leaving out the *y* before *Saavedra*. Now comes the fun of the fair. "

By ascribing numbers to each letter of MIJUEL DE CARVAMTES Y SAAVEDRA, he proves in fantastic fashion that the real name concealed there is James... maurise Kely. This much accomplished, he continues :

" There remains the delicate question of Fitz. Most of my countrymen are descended from the Kings of Ireland (there seems to have been an ample supply on the premises). I am not. Like the Admiral in William IV's toast, I am ' sprung from the very dregs of the people '. Most of those whose names begin with Fitz either blazon a royal bar sinister on their escutcheon or else they vaunt that their ancestors came over with the Normans, exhausted themselves in the effort, and have done nothing ever since. ' I hear the soft note of an echoing voice—Of an old, old love long dead. ' And it murmurs :

> Por tu vida, Lopillo, que me borres
> Las diez y nueve torres de tu escudo—

and I hear somebody else--apparently myself in the other incarnation—muttering :—

> No indiscretos hierogli--
> Estampes en el escu—.

And so away with the coat of arms, and to work in our shirt-sleeves! As to the Normans, I salute them respectfully : that's all. Let Fitz be a plain nobiliary (or other) particle even as Mac-, or O', or Ap. Call it *de* : and the trick is done. Now, you know all about it. Seated in your chair at Philadelphia, be happy in reflecting that no man... is so well posted up on the details of my impious fraud. There it is : the truth is out : I writ *Don Quixote*. Somebody said that if Columbus, when he reached America, had had a spark of gentlemanlike feeling, he would have kept his disgraceful discovery to himself. You will use your own discretion, and will believe... as much as you choose. "

He was fond of quoting verse in his letters, from sonorous lines of Tennyson to jingles in Gilbert's operas and nonsense rhymes. Speaking of the last-mentioned in a letter of December 11, 1903, he writes :

" These things have a knack of living : the invincible vitality of the lower forms of life, I presume. Coventry Patmore, a remarkable poet in his own line, used to say that the only lines of his own which ever caught the public fancy were an anonymous quatrain which he sent to *Punch*. This was during the Franco-German war when the Germans were carrying all before them, and the old Emperor (King of Prussia, as he then was) used to announce victories in pious telegrams—beginning ' Thank God ' and ending with a list of the enemy's losses—addressed to his wife. This got on to Patmore's nerves, and, the old man used to say—I then wrote my only popular poem. The public doesn't care a tuppenny tinker's curse for *The Unknown Eros*, but everybody knows my lovely quatrain :—

> Praise to the Lord, my dear Augusta :
> We've had another awful buster :
> Ten thousand Frenchmen sent below—
> Thanks be to God, from whom all blessings flow. '

' That ', he added quaintly—' that is immortality, my young man! '. "

Practically all of the early letters, and especially those written in 1903 and 1904, record an irrepressible gayety when dealing with sober facts. He wrote on September 10, 1903 : " I am often sad and melancholy enough, but, in spite of all, the fun will surge over now and then. " As time went on, and particularly after his appointment to the professorship at the University of Liverpool, the tone of the letters becomes less gay. He soon found that his many duties made serious inroads upon his working hours, and he wrote in a letter of

December 29, 1909 : " How you university professors ever contrive to concoct a note is a puzzle to me, and the thought of your indefatigable, industrious quill penning elaborate works and articles innumerable leaves me amazed. " Again, on October 21, 1913, he wrote : " I am regularly caught in the wheels of the university machine, and have been landed once more into the chair of the Faculty of Arts. I rather gathered from you that you had escaped hard labour of this kind, and had broken out of jail. How is the thing done ? What is your magic ? Would the philtre work in Liverpool ? Perhaps not. I am bound to tell you that New York seems to me a quiet, humdrum spot compared with this. "

As might be expected, these letters offer a valuable commentary upon the scholarly work of these two leaders in Hispanic studies, and record the help that they gave so generously and disinterestedly to one another. In a letter of May 7, 1899, Fitzmaurice-Kelly urged Rennert to write a biography of Lope de Vega; on February 6, 1902, he offered to read the completed manuscript, and a few months later, he proffered his services in securing a British publisher for the book since there seemed little likelihood that it would be accepted for publication in the United States. On October 21, 1902, he wrote triumphantly that the book would be printed by Gowans and Gray of Glasgow, and assumed the responsibility of reading the proof, and of making any revision in matters of style that seemed desirable. A number of the letters here printed show the extent of Fitmaurice-Kelly's collaboration. When a friend's interests were at stake, apparently nothing was too much trouble for this very busy man. It was he who first suggested to Rennert the publication of Chorley's revised Catalogue as an Appendix to the " Life of Lope de Vega "; he went to no end of pains to examine with the help of experts the autographs—alleged and genuine— of Lope preserved in the British Museum, and

while spending many hours each week on the proofs, he constantly apologized for his " tinkering " with them. Generosity such as this is rare among scholars, or in any other class of men. He felt grateful to the book for having brought him into so close a relationship with Rennert, and the following paragraph, written on November 17, 1903, is quite characteristic of him :—

" Ah! for my thanks to you, surely it is obvious enough that you have been very generous and long-suffering while I, in the far, far distance, have been tinkering at the text. *Y no digo más.* It is—to some degree—a little odd that our friendship should have grown out of a review. But the pen slays its tens of thousands where the canon booms over its thousands. Perhaps when you were a child, or a young boy, you were taken to the theatre to hear that shocking bad play of Lytton's called *Richelieu.* I remember to this day my childish thrill of delight at hearing the famous line declaimed :—

> The pen is mightier than the sword!

And so it is. Byron, in *Don Juan* (I think) refers to the idle tale (which he believed) of Keats being slain by a review in the *Quarterly.* And he comments :—

> Tis strange the soul (that fiery particle)
> Should let itself be snuffed out by an article.

But articles work wonders of their own. And there is proof forthcoming for the sceptic. "

On the other hand, Fitzmaurice-Kelly recognized on many occasions the aid he received from Rennert. He valued highly his judgment and set great store upon his vast bibliographical knowledge. He discussed with him countless details regarding the various editions of the " History of Spanish Literature " both before and after publication, and

gratefully accepted corrections and suggestions. I think it may truthfully be said that as a result of this close association, Fitzmaurice-Kelly, without losing his love for literature, came to ascribe more importance to what we term " exact scholarship " than he did in his earlier days.

It is interesting, I think, to have some record of Fitzmaurice-Kelly's opinion of his own publications. We see here that he had come to dislike intensely his " Life of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra " and one of the letters explains the circumstances under which it was written. The Introduction to the translation of the " Galatea " was written in a gayer mood, which explains some of its hilarity and mock-seriousness. He frequently discusses the various versions of the " History of Spanish Literature ", and valiantly pleads for the type of literary history that will awaken, instead of destroying, a taste for literature. His statement that his memoir on Cervantes (1913) was written in a vein of irony makes the book more intelligible. He was a creature of moods, and these are faithfully mirrored in his publications.

Very gradually, Fitzmaurice-Kelly, a free-lance in letters, was transformed into a " specialist " in Spanish, but he remained to the end, primarily, a lover of literature. In that glorious letter written just after the death of Henley, he gives us a glimpse into his own early manhood. Later, he devoted most of his time to Spanish, but was not a man to be restricted by a " specialty ". He wrote on September 8, 1904 : " I lounged for three weeks on the hills, mostly reading ' idle singers of an idle day ' like Rodenbach, Samain and Gregh : not copious talents, but fine, subtle, with the equipment of artists, reminding one of Tennyson's depreciatory outburst of self-criticism to Thompson, the Master of Trinity : ' I can execute like Shakespeare, but I have nothing in me . ' But I am relieved to find that I recognize a genuine vein of poetry in these later singers. So many of my literary

friends admire the poets of their youth, and see nothing in the new comers. This is a plain case of mental hypertrophy : it proves the truth of Sainte-Beuve's shrewd observation that a poet is born in almost all men, but that in most of us the poet dies young. When a series of great men passes away, the generation that knew them, that ' lived in their proud and magnificent eye ', is prone to think that the end has come. You remember Saint-Victor's fine phrase in Hommes et Dieux : ' Les vies illustres s'éteignent sur tous les points du monde, comme les mille flambeaux d'une fête qui finit. ' So far time has spared me. Intellectual callosity will come to me as to others, but it has not (I think) come yet. I believe that there are still some to re-light the sacred torch and begin the pageant anew. "

This is the sort of criticism that we find in many of Fitzmaurice-Kelly's letters, which according to his own statement, did not require much labour on his part. Think of throwing off, for example, in a personal letter, the description of Lope at the age of sixty-nine as he finished " Las bizarrías de Belisa ", which we find in the letter dated April 30, 1903 à propos of the autograph! Nothing could better illustrate his power of finding poetry in sober facts.

J. P. Wickersham CRAWFORD.

I

Hamburg, Feb. 27, 1899.

Dear Sir :

I have only just now received a copy of the review which you were good enough to publish in the *Philadelphia Press* (December 4, 1898) on my little handbook of Spanish Litera-

ture; and I take this, the earliest opportunity, of thanking you for your generous appreciation (not too common among people who are, so to say, in the same line of business), and for the great forbearance with which you have used your knowledge of the subject. I am also greatly obliged to you for the corrections of points of detail; I can think of no better way of showing my appreciation than by promising to adopt them, as also any others which you may be kind enough to point out as the result of a second reading.

It has annoyed me to find that I have omitted Prof. Baist's *Geschichte*. Of course it ought to have been mentioned in the very first line, and this mistake will be remedied when the book is reprinted, as it may be one of these days. My excuse is that, with the exception of the last two chapters, my book was written in 1897 when only a few pages of Professor Baist's volume had reached me. The rest I received after I had gone to press—too late, unfortunately, to be of use to me. It would have saved me much labour, had I known of it earlier : as it is, I am extremely sorry to have overlooked it, and will see that this mistake is put right. It occurs to me that you may be writing to Professor Baist from time to time. If so, though he will never have heard of my little book or of myself, I hope you will explain to him how this blunder happened, and express to him my regret for it.

I am also sorry to find that your own work has been overlooked by me—especially in the case of Rodríguez del Padrón's *romances*. This shall be put right. The only work of yours that I have been able to get hold of is your *Spanish Pastoral Novel* which I found in the British Museum. I know that you have published much, and here in Germany a friend of mine has lent me your admirable edition of Lope s *Sin secreto no ay amor*. But I have failed to get them for myself in London, and I know no American bookseller who gets books on commission. You would be doing me a great

favour if you could give me the name and address of such a bookseller. My friend, Mr. Wentworth Webster, tells me that I ought to have mentioned Miguel Sánchez, for instance : and I am quite sure that he is right. But here again, I can only excuse myself on the ground of sheer ignorance.

There is some possibility of the book being done into Spanish : if so, I will try to remedy some of my worst shortcomings, and will send you a copy for your edification. At present I am busy with a very much more elaborate work on the same subject; and this leads me to say that I am all the more anxious to miss nothing of yours which would enable me to complete my knowledge and to cite you in the notes which, naturally, must be many and elaborate.

I quite agree with you about Alfonso's birth-date : 1226 is a misprint for 1220. And, indeed on all points of any importance, I am happy to find myself at one with you. Pray excuse this long intrusion upon you : but I could not forego the pleasure of making your acquaintance, even though only by letter, and of thanking you warmly for your courtesy and kindness. Believe me to be, dear Sir, your very obliged and faithful :

Jas. FITZMAURICE-KELLY.

II

14, Palace Gardens Mansions, London.
May 7, 1899.

My dear Sir :

I owe you a thousand apologies for my delay in answering your very kind letter of March 14 and in acknowledging the valuable volumes which I owe to your generous courtesy...

Very many thanks indeed for the corrections which you

are good enough to send me. They are most welcome as will be any others in the same kind. *La belle Alfrede* (p. 263) is a horrible blunder which I cannot account for unless I took it without verification from Puibusque—a very rash thing to do. I fell in with Peters' book on Scarron while I was in Germany and found it an excellent piece of work from beginning to end. It tells me much that I never knew, corrects wrong notions that beset me, and reminds me of much that I had half-forgotten.

And I can say as much for the several volumes which you are so good as to send me. The *Pastoral Romances*, indeed, I already knew; but there is all the difference in the world between reading a book in a Museum and reading it *a pierna tendida* by one's fireside. And the Miguel Sánchez is a genuine boon and find : to my shame I knew nothing about him, and I shall owe it to you that I have become acquainted with him. In fact in this matter you have put an obligation upon all who take any interest in Spanish literature, and I can't too much congratulate you upon this service that you have rendered. I am very much struck with the skilful way in which you make a path through the terribly intricate bibliography of Lope who, I take it, is a favourite with you : and no wonder, for I scarcely know anyone who has a greater capacity for interesting and amusing a reader. Of course you know the edition which Menéndez y Pelayo is bringing out : but shall we ever, at the present rate of progress, see the end of it ? It will be a pity if, like so many Spanish publications, it comes to a sudden end. I wonder if you, who are clearly at home in the subject, have ever felt tempted to give us an English Life of Lope ? It would be as interesting as almost any romance, and could not fail to find readers. There is something so human about Lope that it is hard not to feel for him something very like a personal affection for him. However, I must not hold the apple before you in

this way, lest I should tempt you away from a field of work where you are doing what none of the rest of us have done or can do.

I am afraid that I have nothing to send you in exchange for all your handsome gifts. At present the Madrid people are in labour with a translation of my little book in which I hope to correct some of my worst sins of commission and omission. If it comes to a good end you must allow me to send you a copy : though it will be a repetition of the story of the country mouse and the town mouse. I shall look forward with an interest extreme to your edition of Guillén de Castro's play and more especially, to your introduction which will surely contain much that is valuable in the way of fact and suggestion. Once more receive my heartiest thanks for your kindness and believe that a letter from you will always give a genuine pleasure to.

Yours very faithfully, etc.

III

June 9, 1899.

My dear Professor Rennert :

I have to thank you for a very kind letter as well as for the handsome gift which you send me in the shape of your fine edition of *Ingratitud por amor*. I do not profess to have gone very carefully through the play from beginning to end, though I have read long passages here and there with a good deal of pleasure. To put it on the lowest ground, it is delightful to read a play in this form, though it tends to spoil one, and to make one more than ever discontented with Rivadeneyra's editions.

I have been over the *Introduction* twice, and I find it a

very thorough piece of work. Your quotations on pp. 14-15 strike me as amounting to proof of the existence of an edition dated 1613 or earlier and, for the life of me, I see no way of shaking your position. Your account of what Castro was doing at different times is not quite so convincing : that one could not expect, for otherwise you would have settled three or four questions so as to make all argument impossible; but at all events you have thrown much light on these dark corners and have given an explanation which is probable in a very high degree, and is a most interesting piece of conjectural reconstruction.

There is just one little point on p. 9 which is not quite clear to me, though I dare say that the fault is mine. I notice that you speak of Cervantes' plays appearing in a Valladolid edition of 1615. My idea was that—apart from one or two *entremeses*—the *Ocho Comedias* were issued at Madrid in 1615, and that there was no reprint of them till Blas Nasarre produced them in 1749. I have been wondering whether there is a Valladolid edition of 1615 unknown to me, or whether I have misunderstood the passage altogether. And, casting about for some explanation which would solve the matter, I have asked myself whether the compositor had read Valladolid for Villaroel in your ' copy ' : Villaroel being the publisher of the Madrid 1615 edition. The whole thing is the merest trifle and I should apologise for troubling you about it, were it not that one pricks an ear instinctively at the sound of Cervantes' name.

I found Pérez Pastor's book interesting and valuable : the pity is that he should have weighted it with the theory of a 1604 *Don Quixote* and that the Madrid journalists should have accepted it, and gone on to praise the book for what was really, as I think, a weakness. It is barely possible (though very unlikely) that there is a 1604 *Quixote;* but Pérez Pastor's argument quite fails to prove it. I flatter

myself that Foulché-Delbosc and I quite destroyed the theory in the *Rev. Hispanique;* but it may be that we failed in the opinion of others.

Have you noticed that Stiefel, in the *Litteraturblat für germanische und romanische Philologie*, contests the notion that Miguel Sánchez was one of Lope's predecessors ? On the whole, it seemed to me that his argument was weak, and I have found that this opinion is shared by others. It was, perhaps, not a bad piece of special pleading : but it was nothing more, as I thought.

There are two pieces of work that I want to see done : one is a good edition of the Archpriest of Hita, and the other is the Life of Lope. I am trying to persuade Foulché-Delbosc to undertake the one and you to undertake the other; and though neither is inclined to move, I rather hope to convince you both. However, I must not intrude further upon your patience today : so with renewed thanks for your great kindness, believe me to be, very faithfully yours, etc.

IV

October 27, 1899.

My dear Professor Rennert :

The sight of your handwriting was all the more welcome in that I had been thinking of you several times lately. I shall read with much interest the results of your fruitful summer, and am delighted to learn that you are at work on Macías. Long ago I had thought of writing something of the sort : but I am glad to have abandoned the idea, and to have left it to your more competent hand. I look forward with expectation to your study which will make us all your debtors for a service that was much needed indeed. In the

matter of Macías, Mme de Vasconcellos, good as she is, is perhaps less helpful than usual . . . . . .

The larger book, on Ticknor's scale, crawls slowly on. I greatly wish to consult you as to arrangement. There are objections to all plans, but chronology appeals most to me. Still that involves a very abrupt turning from one subject to another. It might be well to combine chronology with marked classification : say, a chapter on Chivalresque Novels, another on the Mystics, another on Minor Playwrights, with separate chapters for Cervantes, Lope, Tirso, Calderón, etc. This also is awkward, for some mystics would reappear as poets or, as in Valdés ' case, as critics : this has a scrappy effect. But, as no system is unobjectionable, one can only choose the least objectionable. What is that system ? Here your experience as a man of letters, as scholar, student and lecturer would be invaluable to me. My aim is to make a convenient, exhaustice book of reference. I should wish also to make the reading of it as little burdensome as possible. Many literary histories are dry as dog's-biscuit, repelling the very reader one would like to attract. I should desire to give him something more than a catalogue of names : not merely to inform him, but to stimulate him, to interest and amuse him by whatever I can do in the way of illustration, fancy or humour. In fact it seems to me that a history of literature should itself have some literary qualities so as not to be in *too* violent a contrast with its subject. At the same time utility is most important. And here, I repeat, your knowledge, your personal experience of your own needs and the needs of students generally, would be of the greatest value to me. Even in such a small matter as the notes which would be very many and elaborate : ought they to be at the foot of each page, or in a separate volume ? This is only a question of literary mechanics : but you will, I think, agree with me that these, and the other arts I have

mentioned, are not beneath the notice of literary historians.

But I have kept you too long. Where did you print Pérez de Guzmán's poems ? And with many apologies for a dull rambling letter, I release you. All good wishes from.

Yours very faithfully, etc.

V

June 14, 1900.

My dear Professor Rennert :

I owe you all manner of thanks for a very kind letter and for a copy of your valuable edition of *Macías*. You will forgive me for being so slow in acknowledging both. . . .

As to the Macías, it is an excellent idea, very successfully carried out, upon which you may be congratulated without any reserve. To say that I learned a great deal from your introduction would be to put the case much too low. You seem to have collected all the material possible, and have made the story interesting, as well as full. Like most others, I see that I have been in the habit of dating Macías much too late. Your pp. 12-17 shew that clearly. I take it that the legend of a personal friendship between Juan Rodríguez de la Cámara and Macías must also be abandoned. Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, v. p. ccviii : *Era gallego como Macías, su amigo*, etc. Altogether, you compel one to revise a good many notions, accepted too carelessly hitherto. And this in itself is a considerable triumph for you.

. . . . . .

For the purposes of the French translation I am rewriting my little handbook, and if there are any improvements in it, I shall owe no small part of them to you. I have had some interesting conversation with M. Foulché-Delbosc on the

subject of the *Celestina*. It is almost incredible : he has found in the Bibliothèque Nationale a copy in *sixteen acts* (Seville, 1501). It has been overlooked for a hundred and fifty years, and will shortly be reprinted. The discovery suggests a whole series of questions that can not be answered till we have the text in our hands. Ex. gr. Is this recension in sixteen acts the work of one writer ? Are the additional acts unauthorized ? Are they the work of Proaza ? Have we to deal with an *editio princeps* at last ? Or was there a still earlier recension which represented the author's intention ? These are only a few points among many. What is very odd is that another copy, also in sixteen acts, has been lately found in Spain—in the library of the Marqués de Jerez at Seville. It is said to be dated Seville, 1500. We now have sixteen acts in three copies : counting the famous Heber copy, and there seems to be some reason for thinking that there are slight differences in each of the three.

All this gives one something to think about. I have lately had sight of the Burgos 1554 *Lazarillo* at Chatsworth House : and I am pretty certain that there was an earlier edition than any yet discovered. But it is unfair to worry you with these little matters. Once more, pray accept my hearty thanks for your generous gift and with all good wishes for the success of your work, believe me to be very, very sincerely yours, etc.

VI

December 12, 1900.

My dear Professor Rennert :

I owe, and have long owed, you many thanks for your kind letter which was awaiting me on my return in the autumn and now, to add to my confusion, you heap coals of fire on

my head by sending me your excellent article on *D. Q.* The fact is that I have been more than usually pressed for time and that, wishing to write to you at length and at leisure, I have put it off from day to day. However, as the opportunity is not forthcoming, you will forgive me if I send this hurried line. At the end of October I went down to Oxford to examine for the Taylorian Scholarship in Spanish and, though the candidates were not very numerous, the business of setting papers and reading the answers took much time. Since then—and this is a piece of news which may interest you—I have at last received the *Ms.* of the Spanish translation of the *Span. Lit.* It is in many respects well done, but now and again the translator has not quite grasped my meaning, and so the process of revising is rather long. However, this compels me to read with some care, and perhaps the book will profit by that. Reading oneself in this stately Spanish gives me the sensation of reading somebody else's book. There is a large corpus of notes, annotations, etc., by my translator, Adolfo Bonilla, evidently a very clever fellow. I can't say that they all seem very necessary, but on such a point one has to bow to the decision of the man on the spot, and unquestionably some of them are very useful—inasmuch as they correct my blunders and make good my shortcomings. These are really dreadful. However, one does what one can, rather than what one would like to do. Thanks to you, amongst others, I have put many mistakes right. You will find an acknowledgment of your kindness in the preface, as well as allusions in the text and notes; and I need not say that you shall have the earliest copy that struggles into print. So, too, with regard to the French version which is now definitely in hand. Somehow I fancy that whatever personal note may exist in the original is likely to be better reproduced in French than in Spanish; but on all such matters authors are notoriously bad judges.

With these things in hand you will understand that I have been busy, and will forgive my delay in replying to, and thanking, you.

You have treated the *D. Q.* with far more kindness than it deserves, and I am at a loss to acknowledge the service which you have done me. Perhaps it may serve as a point to start from, and if anybody finds it useful in that way it will be a pleasant thought for me, long after the edition is superseded. Once more my hearty thanks for all your kindness.

It is capital news that you are at work on Lope's biography : nobody could be better equipped for the task, and the task is a hard one. You will certainly clear up many matters that are now very obscure. By the way, I wonder if you can help me to identify the sonnet quoted by me on pp. 246-247 of *Span. Lit.* It is contained in all recent (and perhaps old) editions of Longfellow, and I think I have seen it; but somehow it escapes me just now. As you are also very likely to quote it, you may come across the original in Lope's shoreless ocean. Anyhow, I shall look forward to your work with the keenest interest. Of course you know the paper, valuable in its way, of Pérez Pastor in the *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*. I hear he has much more material which he will publish shortly : certainly in time for you to use it. And now at the end of my time and paper I must close this shabby scribble with many thanks and many good wishes to you for the coming year. Believe me very truly yours, etc.

VII

May 20, 1901.

My dear Professor Rennert :

It is such an unconscionable time since I wrote to you that you must wonder what has become of me. In truth I ought

—as I have often meant—to have written to you, thanking you for all the trouble you took in runing the *Brook* sonnet to earth. But like you, I have been a victim to influenza and its *sequelae :* add to this that I have been encountering lions in the shape of Spanish printers : if you know as much of the latter as of the former, I trust that my iniquities will be pardoned.

The fact is that, for months past, proofs of the long-promised Spanish version of the *Sp. Lit.* have been arriving in irregular jets. This morning we have reached page 576—about half-way through the bibliography, which has been *refundida* . . . . . .

My translator (really a clever fellow) writes in a letter received today : " D. Marcelino está empezando el Prólogo, con el cual calculo que el volumen constará de unas 650 páginas. " You will see that it's ' swellin' wisibly, " like the Fat Boy in Pickwick, and there has been some talk of printing it in two volumes. This would be absurd, and I put down my hoof peremptorily on the project. A *Manual* in two volumes—one in each hand—is out of the question. Of course, one of the earliest volumes will go to you : " queda calzadas las espuelas... para ir a besar los pies a vuestra Excelencia. " And I hope you may be satisfied—not with the book which has on it the stain of all the *ignominia saeculi,* but—with my acknowledgment of your constant help, light and kindness.

And so the *Brook* isn't Lope's, apparently, after all! I half feared it : yet, in all later editions of Longfellow which I have seen, it is ascribed to him. I wonder where Longfellow got his information from, in the second instance.

I shall be most interested to read your study on Barahona de Soto. It seems that Francisco Rodríguez Marín has published something of this sort recently; but I have (so far) failed to get it, though I have tried several times.

I wonder if you chance to know Mr. Archer Huntington who published the text of the *Poema del Cid* in a very gorgeous form ? A vague rumour has reached me that he is the owner of the mysterious (?) *prinçeps* (?Burgos, 1499) of the *Celestina*. As this comes from a Spanish source, it must be received with all reserve : it does not at all agree with Quaritch's strange story of a cock, and a bull, and a fearsome millionaire who knows no Spanish, but collects fifteenth-century books of a certain size. Yet it may serve to put you on the track of the truth (my own impression is that the volume is still on Quaritch's shelves!!). However, it is all on the knees of the gods. It would indeed be curious if this famous edition has found a home in the U. S. A. and if it should be first reprinted there. Perhaps you are the man born to do it : one would be delighted to think so. And now, with many apologies for my remissness, believe me to be very faithfully and gratefully yours, etc.

VIII

September 13, 1901.

My dear Professor Rennert :

The post which carries this letter should also bring you a copy of the long-promised Spanish translation. Everything comes to him who knows how to wait and even the South-Western trains are said to arrive : so it is reported by men who combine the characteristics of Methusaleh and Job. Our good friends in Spain are never in an indecent hurry, and, in this particular case, they have taken their ease. But here the thing is at last and I venture to send it to you. Nobody has a better right to it, for nobody has judged it more generously, nor given me more valuable help in my attempts to

improve it. My debt to you is acknowledged, though not handsomely enough, on page 8 : but of course I recognize that I am not what the courts call a " discharged debtor "

I can hardly expect you to wade through this wearisome rivulet of words—now swollen to a river—once more; but if you are hardy enough to do this, or even to dip into the stream here and there, I can not doubt but that you will find me (to intensify the metaphor)—all at sea, again and again. I need not say that any and every correction will be heartily welcome. Every reader who hits a blot and brings bit to my notice is a valuable collaborator. You will probably find a good many things missing in the short bibliography at the end, but I have had to consider that publishers have an innate hatred of bibliographies, and I can only throw myself on the mercy of the court with the plea that the list is perhaps fuller than in most other elementary books of this kind.

What will interest you most of all naturally is Menéndez y Pelayo's preface. Like all my critics he judges me far too leniently : only once have I caught him at fault (compare pp. xxxii and 564, the *Memorial histórico español* being mentioned on the latter page),—and this is a simple oversight. Naturally, on any given point connected with Sp. lit. he is a thousand times more likely to be right than I. But I confess that he has not convinced me about the *prosistas didácticos*. It is not that I deny their merit : those that I have read have merits of a very high kind and, on another occasion, I shall find room for a few. Still it does appear to me that he gives an uncommonly wide significance to the word literature and—as I said the other day when writing to Mr. Webster—a step more, and we shall be invited to praise the compiler of Bradshaw's Railway Guide for their luminous concision. However, I may be quite wrong about this and should be very glad to have your view of the matter,

as well as a note of any defects that strike you as particularly grave. The omission of the *Romances* is undoubtedly very blameworthy on my part : at the same time I altogether reject M. y P.'s proposal to devote a *chapter* to them. That would quite upset the balance of the book : but I could spare three or four pages, no doubt.

Well, I must not bore you with a long letter and, as I am drawing to the close of the page, I will say no more than that I heartily thank you again for all your kind help, that I trust you and your work are both flourishing, and that I am now and always your most obliged and faithful, etc.

IX

December 13, 1902.

Mi querido amigo :

I duly received both your letters, and the facsimile enclosed of Lope's signature. The latter I at once forwarded to Gowans and Gray who will utilize it, reducing a little, as you suggest. They are vastly pleased that the photograph is so like the etching in vol. I of the *Obras*. And certainly this is good news : for I had a secret fear that the etching might have been " touched up "—*faked*, as the artists say—and that the photograph might be disillusioning. . . . . .

I dare say you may think that I have been an unconscionable time at my little tinkerings with your book : and no doubt it might have been done quicker. But I am a very slow writer : I pull sentences about in a heartrending way : and am rather " meticulous " (a useful neologism now creeping in) as to verbal phrasing. I don't like to see in my own performances the frequent recurrence of the fatal word " of ": it is the little fox that spoils our grapes, just as *que*

ruins them (together with *su*) in Spanish. I am disturbed by the repetition of relatives, or less common phrases, close together : it worries me to see two adverbs in company, and when I find the long leg of the letter *y* dangling out of the windows all over the road, it is born in me to alter it. I have interpreted your instructions in the most literal manner, and have treated the Ms. as though it were my own. You will see that changes are numerous, and, though you may not approve of all these alterations, I think that, after comparing a chapter or two, you will see that there is a reason for each of them, and that it is not simple caprice. . . . . .

I have taken special pains with the preface. A long experience of reviewers—I have been a reviewer myself : *et ego in Arcadia vixi*—has convinced me that a considerable proportion of these gentry does not go much beyond the preface. This is " pretty Fanny's way ", and the knowledge of it makes me unusually careful with the few lines that the executioners will read. Now and then I have added a phrase or two—about Navarro or Naharro whom Cervantes mentions—but seldom. I had already parted with the chapter on the *Dragontea* before hearing from you : but I have directed in the margin that a blank space be left for you to insert further matter. I have put an accent on the *esdrújulas*—words like *Jerónimo, décimas,* etc. But I have done nothing else in the way of accentuation : it does not seem at all necessary, and these accents give a lot of trouble and expense.

Lastly, I have, as you suggest, toned down the severity of some judgments on Lope's pranks. There is, of course, no suppression of facts : it is simply a matter of words. I quite agree that it is better not to speak too harshly, and I think it might be as well for you to tone down some expressions in the earlier chapter where you deal with the Elena Osorio affair. At that time I had no authorization to soften

these moral judgments. For all purposes, it will be quite sufficient if you speak of " these lamentable proceedings ", or words of that sort. People understand without any emphasis being laid upon the matter. . . . . .

I am glad to notice that in the ten or twelve pages which I devote to Lope's life I am in general agreement with you as regards facts. But, of course, I have nothing to compare with your wealth of detail. You will receive a copy of my little lecture as soon as it is published. Its only merit is that it serves (so to say) as a pilot-fish to the big whale coming on. I hope you won't find too many mistakes in it; but you know what a lecture is, what a lecturer must do in talking to " the laity ", and will be, I trust, as indulgent as usual. By the way, I took it upon myself to announce your forthcoming work at Oxford.

I have been busy, too, with an *Introduction* to the *Galatea*. It has given me much trouble : for I do not think much of the *Galatea* and yet, when you introduce your author to the public, you can't kick him as part of the ceremony. However, Gowans and Gray are delighted : which is more than I am, or than you will be. It will come under your jurisdiction in time, but the printing has not yet begun. But I have babbled enough. All good wishes for Christmas and the New Year, y un fuerte apretón de mano de su afmo. amigo, etc.

X

April 30, 1903.

Mi querido amigo :

. . . . . .

I am writing to you with unwonted promptness today, because I want to take counsel's opinion as to what we should do in the matter of reproducing a facsimile from one of Lope's

autographs. I have been looking carefully through the autographs in the British Museum and, after reflection, have arrived at conclusions which may be heretical, and which —at all events—differ in some respects from the views set forth by Barrera in his *Catálogo*, p. 434.

I agree with Barrera that the following plays are in Lope's hand : *La hermosa Ester, El galán de la membrilla, Santiago el verde, El sembrar en buena tierra, Ay verdades que en amor, Sin secreto no ai amor.* And to these I will return in an instant.

I do not think that the following are genuine autographs : *La niña de plata y burla vengada, Lo que ha de ser, La competencia de los nobles, Argel fingido, Auto sacramental del yugo de Cristo.* With the *Biçarrias de Belisa* I shall deal presently.

Mr. Bickely, one of the Keepers of MSS. in the British Museum, has kindly spent several hours with me in going over these MSS. attributed to Lope, and, though he knows nothing of Spanish, he is a great authority on autographs, writing, etc., etc. He entirely agrees with me in rejecting *La niña de plata* as spurious : he is less categorical as regards *Lo que ha de ser,* though he has grave doubts as to its being genuine : as you know—*Parece original*—is written on the first page, but this means nothing. Mr. Bickley is somewhat sceptical as to the remark on the first leaf of *La competencia* —which reads : " es de Lope de Vega, y las enmiendas son de su propia mano " ; he is not convinced that the corrections are in Lope's hand, though he admits that they may be. As to *Argel fingido* and the *Auto*, he takes them to be simple copies : no more.

The extrinsic tests which we have found it convenient to employ are extremely simple, and yet decisive—so far as they go. In Lope's unquestionable autographs, you will remark a peculiar trick which is highly characteristic of him.

He writes the name of the speaker, and then invariably draws a brief line underneath with an unmistakable abrupt halt in it. He does not mean to do this, perhaps : but, so far as I can judge, he never fails (save by accident, and I find no case of such an accident in his Mss) to do it. Then, again, his q̃ (= que) is extremely characteristic. You find it repeatedly (q(q(q(q. I cannot do it at all, but Mr. Bickley noted it on the instant as being highly typical. " Just look at it! " he said. " What beautiful fingers the man must have had! There is an elegant fluent grace about these *q*'s that is very typical, and that I can find nowhere else. Just tell me something of this fellow : all that I know is that he produced an infinite number of plays. " I told him a little about Lope and, at the end, he exclaimed : " Ay! and, in addition to all that, he might have earned a good living as a simple writing-master. "

In all the plays that I have rejected as not being autographs, these two characteristics are missing.

I ought also to say that, up to the present, the MS. containing, or alleged to contain, *La niña de plata* is a puzzle to me. Not only is it not in Lope's hand, but I do not recognize the text or the personages as belonging to *La niña de plata* ? Can you throw any light on this matter ?

With regard to the batch of genuine autographs (mentioned by me on p. 2 of this letter) beginning with *La hermosa Ester* and ending with *Sin secreto no ai amor*, Mr. Bickley and I are (rightly or wrongly) persuaded that, though these are perfectly genuine, they do not represent—so to say—the author's *working* copy or copies, but are fair drafts made *ad hoc* for the stage and the players. I do not know how far you would share the view which both of us hold rather strongly.

It follows from what I have said that—in my humble opinion—the only autograph of Lope's in the British Museum

that fulfils the desirable conditions for a good facsimile is *Las bizarrias de Belisa*. This autograph bears the following note : " esta com[a]. fue la ultima que hiço Lope. " I do not know if this is really a fact; but I see that Barrera (*op. cit.*, 434) does not reject the statement, and, if it be true, this would be an additional point of interest. Anyhow, it is a very late play (May 24, 1634), and the autograph reveals Lope to us in undress uniform. The brain is as active and brilliant as ever, but the " beautiful fingers " which so delight Mr. Bickley's expert eyes are growing a little stiff, and the hand is a trifle tremulous. The intellect faints not, nor faileth. But the man is beginning to shew signs of exhaustion. Young Lope has perished : Antonia Clara has (I suppose) fled, or is giving cause for unhappiness. The young men are pressing to the front. Lope could once have met the world in arms; but now-a-days a stray hoot or hiss from the pit seems to unnerve him a little. The glory is departing. We may apply to him the celebrated lines of Matthew Arnold who says of another poet that he :

> grew old in an age he condemn'd.
> He look'd on the rushing decay
> Of the times which had shelter'd his youth.
> Felt the dissolving throes
> Of a social order he lov'd;
> Outliv'd his brethren, his peers,
> And—like the Theban seer—
> Died in his enemy's day.

So, I take it, things befell with Lope. It would not surprise me to learn that, in this last year or two, he ceased to be as spruce and dapper in his appearance as I imagine him to have been at an earlier time. He had got past caring for most things. And, in this mood, he dashed *Las bizarrias de Belisa* down upon his table. There it was : actors or printers might take it or leave it, might make the best of it or might

do their worst with it : let them please themselves : he had done his part, and was no longer going to make fair drafts for them, or for anybody else. He was tired of it all : tired of attitudinizing, of posturing, of conciliating : the stout heroic heart, the weary broken spirit, asked for nothing better than to be at rest. As Scott is reported to have said : —"There the thing is! I don't care a tuppenny tinker's curse what becomes of it! " The language is regrettable, but the feeling is natural enough. And so I imagine things to have gone with Lope in those last sad days of his. One must always remember how strong, how immortal the elemental, primitive stuff of humanity was in him. And, towards the close, it probably was unfettered altogether.

This being so (in my view), I should propose to reproduce for your book the facsimile of a page from *Las bizarrias de Belisa*, all the circumstances of which tend to give it a singular value and interest. But, before definitely taking a decision, I think I ought to lay the matter fully before you and give you the opportunity of raising whatever objections may occur to you. So far as I know, no facsimile from this autograph has ever been reproduced : and, so far as I can see, there is not a shadow of doubt as to the authenticity of the autograph. *Maintenant, la parole est à M. Rennert.* And pray forgive this interminable screed. I am only anxious to do the right thing by you and by Lope.

I have not yet made up my mind to do that new book on Spanish Literature. I am not so foolish as to be ignorant of a very obvious fact : namely, that there are scores of men—yourself among them—who know a vast deal more than I know concerning the details of certain provinces of Spanish Literature. I have again and again suggested that one of you should be asked to undertake the new book. But without effect. The publisher has become *encaprichado*, as our Spanish friends say : he has set his heart on my doing

the book, and he will have no one else. If you take your little boy into a shop and say—" Now, you can have any one of these toys! "—it is almost certain that he will take a fancy to something of no great value, and will insist on having it, in spite of your most convincing argument that a dozen other things are really much better. So that I am not at all puffed up at the publisher's obstinacy. It is plain caprice, and nothing better. But, in a dim and misty way, I see the publisher's point. He cannot be so silly as to think me more competent—so far as learning goes—than a dozen men whose names occur to all of us, off-hand. What I suppose that he gives me credit for is a genuine love of letters, a desire to make literature interesting, vital, entertaining, pleasurable. Details (as such) do not greatly interest me : their significance is quite another matter : and I have so often seen literature made detestable by dry treatment that I endeavor to work against this so far as I can. Whether I succeed is another question. It may be that I have not the faculty which I should wish to have : and even if I have it, it follows (as the night the day) that my little merits are purely relative.

If I should undertake this new book, I should wish to talk it over with you by letter. Of course, the obvious temptation is to say something new, to take the " impressionist " line, and to come out with a perfectly fresh batch of appreciations, contradicting everybody else's views on individual works. But this is a cheap device which must be rejected. Perhaps the novelty must be sought in a new disposition of the matter, or by connecting the literary history with the social and political movements of the times. I wish you would turn the matter over in your mind, and give me a useful hint or two. . . . . .

Well, I must come to an end here, with many, many excuses for having rambled on at such length. Pray let me know

what your views are about *Las bizarrias de Belisa* and the proposed facsimile. And with all my best wishes for you and yours, believe me to be su afmo. amigo etc.

XI

May 8, 1903.

Mi querido amigo :

Since I wrote to you I have had an opportunity of consulting Mr. George Warner, one of the chief men in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum. He was good enough to spend some hours with me, examining the Mss. ascribed to Lope. To cut a long story short, his conclusions are the same as mine. He knows nothing about Spanish, but he is a very high authority on autographs, writing, etc., and therefore I incline to set considerable value on his opinion. At all events, I can truthfully say that if he had taken a different view, I should have been much shaken in my belief.

It comes to this. Warner rejects *Lo que ha de ser, La competencia de los nobles, Argel fingido, Auto sacramental de yugo de Xto* as copies : they are not specially good, and they are nothing better than copies.

La niña de plata is certainly not in Lope's hand. And there is this further peculiarity. The play which bears this title is not *La niña de plata* at all. It is some other play altogether. I have not yet succeeded in identifying it. Perhaps you may be able to do so, if I give you the names of some of the dramatis personae :

Ismenio	Blanca	Xayme
Fabio	Gila	El Vizconde
Don Diego	Xarife	
Lechuga	Haçen [? Hassan]	

I seem to remember vaguely these personages, but I cannot place them as Lope's : and possibly the play may be by somebody else who escapes me for the moment. I shall keep up the chase in spare moments : if you recognize the play offhand, as you very likely may, I should be glad if you would let me know, so that the entry in the B. M. Catalogue may be corrected.

Warner thinks with me that the rest—*Hermosa Ester, Galán de la Membrilla, Santiago el verde, Sembrar en buena tierra, Ay verdades que en amor, Sin secreto no ai amor*—are genuine autographs, but are fair copies made by the author for the actors. This, however, is a pure matter of opinion, a conjecture which we cannot prove. It would make Lope's production and fertility more extraordinary still, if he really wrote out fair copies for the stage. The probabilities are against us. On the other hand, Warner points to the *Biçarrias de Belisa*, and says :—" According to all accounts, Lope at this period was writing as much as ever : perhaps more than ever. Here is his authentic MS. honeycombed with corrections. Why should we assume that as he got older he corrected more and more ? Surely the likelihood is the other way ? He had less time for correcting. His facility was, if anything, on the increase. His reputation was firmly established. Yet the contrast between this MS. and the others is striking. In my view, we have here the author's *working* copy. He could no longer be bothered with making fair copies : he handed the thing over wet from his pen : that is my surmise. " By the way, Warner complimented me on what he called my " acuteness " in noticing a marked characteristic of the genuine autographs : i. e. Lope's trick of writing the name of the personage with a slanting line underneath, and a like turn at the end of it. . . . . It really requires no acuteness at all : the trait " hits you in the eye ", so to say : and it is constant.

All things considered, I am in favour of reproducing a facsimile from the *Biçarrias de Belisa;* a page with *some* corrections, but not too many. But I am entirely in your hands. Your vote is decisive. What do you think? I don't know if this play really is, as it professes to be, *la ultima que hiço Lope.* But it is a late play, and has a good deal of interest in many ways (I can hardly believe that Lope spent over a year without fleshing his pen on some other play). Kindly let me know your view, and I will see that it is carried out as far as I can. But, personally, I vote " early and often " for the *Bicarrias.* Please excuse this hurried and incoherent scribble. But I am anxious to save time. And, with all manner of good wishes, believe me to be su afmo. amigo etc.

XII

May 22, 1903.

Mi querido amigo :

Your letter of the 12th reached me this morning. I am particularly glad to have it, for it enables me to tackle the facsimile at once. I will choose a page in the *Biçarrias de Belisa,* have it photographed by Dossetter (the Museum photographer), and see that it is in G. and G.'s hands by this day week . . . . . .

Please thank Mr. Duffy personally for his very kind mention of me—quite beyond my deserts. I felt a decided impostor while reading his note : and a many-sided impostor. For one thing I have never been in Ireland in my life, and, though I am in strong political sympathy with them, my countrymen never take me for one of themselves. Speech, manner, appearance all combine to make me (from any national point of view) an outcast and vagabond. On the other hand, the English find me very un-English : so, you see, I

cannot find a suitable flag. The case is complicated by the fact that my mother was French, and that nine times out of ten I see things from the French point of view. In France I pass for a good Frenchman : but I know that this is not so, and " in spite of all temptations To belong to other nations, I remain " (in my own conceit) a good Irishman. The sad thing is that no nation cares to claim me : but that must be endured philosophically.

I confess it does seem incredible that Lope can have found time to make fair copies. Yet Warner's argument impresses me : it is strange that at the very end Lope should correct so elaborately. Indeed I do not know what to think. Perhaps Lope corrected " in his head ", like Mozart whose scores are almost spotless : if so, what an amazing memory he must have had! But frankly, I give up the conundrum.

I clean forget what I said about the *Biçarrias de Belisa*, but, of course, if there is anything that you wish to annex, take it by all means. It is very kind and generous of you to speak so well of my writing—as *writing*. Martin Hume (you know his books on Spanish History) takes your view. He startled me at Oxford last autumn. He came down with Cunninghame Graham to hear the Taylorian Lecture and, as he saw I was getting very nervous about it, he kindly sat with me and talked of other things to take my mind off the subject. To my intense surprise he said suddenly : " Do you take a long time over your letters ? " " No ", I answered, " but why do you ask ?" " Because ", he went on, " they are quite different to other people's. They are exactly like your talk, and might be printed off just as they stand. I have often shewn them to Roberto [Cunninghame Graham] and have said that you are the best letter-writer in all England!!! In fact, it is a scandal to write so well. I have said so before, and now I say it again. Writing as good as this ought to be kept for print : it is a shame and

sin to waste it on individuals. The only excuse is—that it is exactly like your conversation. Most men are paralyzed when they take up a pen : we just clap down what occurs to us in a humdrum way : but it acts as a stimulus on you " etc., etc., etc.

Of course I know that this is only a friendly judgment, revealed just at that moment to cheer me up. But I found out that C. Graham agreed, and (to my consternation) discovered that there are many people who have made a habit of preserving my letters. They seem to me like most men's letters, but I cannot judge impartially. When I learned that people kept them, I resolved to confine myself to postcards in future : but so far this is only a pious intention—nothing more.

Probably the truth is that if literature is in your bones it will come out somehow, without your being aware of the when, why and how. I often repent having taken up Spanish, for there is nobody interested in it here. There is no one to whom I can impart what little I know, and this often weighs upon me very heavily. You will laugh when I confess to you that vague ideas have flashed across me of trying to get appointed to some chair in some American University where I should have (so to say) a pulpit to thump. But I laugh myself when I reflect upon it. For, in the first place, no American University ever heard of me to my credit : and, in the next place, I do not suppose that (even if I had the necessary knowledge) I have the slightest gift of teaching. So there we are : I can only help the good cause by writing things which, as I often say, " start from nowhere and lead to nothing ". Do not set too high a value on the mere gift of writing. You are doing much better and more useful work as it is. Writing is only a trick. As I think I have remarked before, I am only a sort of intellectual juggler : having learned the trick, I proceed to " write on any given

point, at any distance from that point ". And I know pretty shrewdly what the worth of such tricks really is. However, I must bring this egotistical screed to a close. I am still hesitating about the other *Spanish Literature;* but, on the whole, your approval encourages me to accept. Pray excuse this hurried scribble, and believe me to be su afmo. amigo etc.

XIII

July 17, 1903.

Mi querido amigo :

At the end of his Introduction to vol. IX. of Lope's *Obras*, Menéndez y Pelayo, as you know, adds a note correcting what he had said in the text about the autograph of *La niña de plata*. I have not the volume here, and do not profess to remember his exact words; but I am convinced that his general drift was this :—that *La niña de plata y burla vengada*, now in the British Museum, was an autograph play by Lope, though not the comedia printed in the *Parte novena* (1617) : that he had an " exact facsimile " of the autograph, and that he proposed to include this *comedia inédita* in the *sección novelesca* of Lope's plays.

You are aware that I gave some consideration to the point, and that I arrived at very different conclusions. It seemed very doubtful to me that Lope was the author of this unpublished play; it seemed still more doubtful that Menéndez y Pelayo could have an " exact facsimile " of it; and I felt positively certain that no part of the manuscript in the British Museum was in Lope's writing. However, none of us—not even the youngest—is infallible, and, as you will remember, I called Mr. Warner and Mr. Bickley into consultation. Both agreed with my view, and, as both are distinguished palaeographers, my mind was more at

rest. Still, there remained the awkward fact that Menéndez y Pelayo spoke of having before his eyes an " exact facsimile ", and that he pronounced the unpublished play to be Lope's work and to be in Lope's writing.

Feeling sure that there was a mistake somewhere, I wrote to Menéndez y Pelayo on the matter a few days ago. I pointed out that the writing bore not the slightest resemblance to Lope's writing, and suggested that the expression *un exacto facsímile* must be a mere *lapsus calami* for *un exacto traslado*, or something of that sort. I wound up by saying that, though I bowed to his authority as regards the ascription of this play to Lope, I could find nothing at all characteristic of Lope in such parts of the comedia as I had been able to decipher. This morning I have received Marcelino's reply and I quote from it such sentences as bear on the point. He writes as follows :—" Con gran placer he recibido su amable carta de V., en que me da tan curiosas noticias acerca de los manuscritos de Lope tenidos por autógrafos en el Museo Británico. Seguramente el de *La niña de plata* no lo es, por la sencilla razón de que tal comedia no es de Lope (de la manuscrita hablo), ni tiene rasgo ninguno de su estilo. Esto pienso después de haberla leído. Se le atribuyó sin duda por confusión con la suya legítima del mismo título, que está en la *Parte Novena*.

" Lo que tenemos en Madrid de ésta y de las otras piezas de Lope existentes en el Museo Británico es una copia paleográfica hecha con esmero, y no un facsímile, como dije por *lapsus calami*.

" Lo que me dice V. de otros cuatro autógrafos me parece muy bien fundado. La autoridad de Barrera nada prueba, porque Barrera nunca estuvo en Londres, ni pudo ver los manuscritos, y además era mediano paleógrafo. Por autógrafas tuvo dos comedias de Lope que él poseía, y están ahora en la Biblioteca Nacional, y basta verlas para quedar

convencido de que son meras copias, aunque antiguas."

This seems to be clear enough. 1º The play in question is not an autograph of Lope's. 2º And Lope is not the author of it. That is pretty much what I thought, but it is as well to have the thing cleared up. It is unfortunate that the supplementary note to vol. IX. should be misleading, and it is safe to prophesy that it will get into circulation and be repeated right and left. In the very nature of things, error (like all the lowest organisms) is of invincible vitality. It matters not how obvious, or even how silly, a mistake may be. The sillier it is, the quicker it spreads : and naturally—for it appeals to the vast host of noodles, all the world over. Deep calleth unto deep, and, before you have time to recover your breath and put on your seven-leagued boots for the purpose of chasing the grisly spectre, it has got such a start of you that you never can catch it, and you watch it with dismay covering the habitable globe.

> The echoes roll from soul to soul,
> And call for ever, and for ever.

This happens even when the man who first went wrong is a nobody. The consequences are much more serious when the mistake is made by a good scholar. His authority is continually quoted against the horrid rascal who commits the unpardonable sin of being right. If you print the facts about the *Niña de plata* just as they are, without comment, many a gay and indolent reviewer will flesh his maiden sword on you, and ask—in terms more or less polite (less, as a rule) —who the dickens *you* are to set your horn up on high in defiance of those great men A., B., and C.,—not to speak of the still more illustrious X., Y., and Z. ? "Professor Rennert states etc. etc. Would he be surprised to hear that Sr. M. y P., the greatest living authority, holds etc. etc. ? "

When a man puts down a bad coin, it is just as well to

nail it to the counter, so as to avoid future disputes and mistakes. I don't know that I shall not insert in your proofs some sentences from Menéndez y Pelayo's letter, so as to get this business out of the way for good and all. There is nothing at all private about it, and it may be ages before M. y Pelayo has an opportunity of dealing with the matter, and putting things right in a public and satisfactory way.

I have seen Beer's little book and thought it well done, though he is so cramped for space that he has barely room to turn around in. What I miss in so many German books is the *literary* note and instinct. They are often very learned, but man does not live by bibliography and " origins " alone. Many excellent scholars—but especially Germans—seem to me to lose sight of a rather important point :—namely, that one of the chief aims of literature is to *please*. In this respect, Beer shows very advantageously : he conveys the impression of aesthetic delight as well as it can be done in so small a compass. I noticed that, willy-nilly, you were seized by the press-gang and marched off under the German flag as one of the *deutsche Pioniere*. But, of course, from the writer's point of view, this is meant as a compliment. Your case is the very opposite of mine. Nationalist champions fight over your form, anxious to enlist you in their ranks : they one and all disown me with emphatic unanimity. And I dare say they may be right. The fires of patriotism and *esprit de corps* burn very low with me, and the still, small voice of humour somehow makes itself heard and gets me into trouble. I remember a worthy Spaniard remonstrating with me :—" You were elected a C. de la Academia, and the first thing you did was to ' chaff ' the Academy in the Introduction to the Spanish *Quixote*. " One feels like the drummer-boy who flogged the soldier : —" I never saw such a fellow in all my life : flog high, or flog low, there is no pleasing him. "

I hope G. and G. have sent you some more proofs and that you have forgiven me for inflicting on you the burden of making the Index. I hope, too, that the latter *corvée* will not interfere with your holiday. With such long intervals between the proofs perhaps an hour a day will soon enable you to get abreast of the text. By the way, M. y P. speaks very generously of the little Taylor Lecture. Your book will quite put it out of existence; but, if it prepares the way for you, it will have done good service.

I am staying down in the country, but I do not want to puzzle you with another address and will ask you to write as usual to the Savile. Do not break into your holiday to write : but, as you know, a letter from you is always a pleasure to su afmo. amigo etc.

XIV

August 28, 1903.

My querido amigo :

. . . . . .

It is over five months since I had news of the beautiful but unfortunate *Galatea*, and of the hideous, but equally unfortunate, *Introduction* : a little matter of sixty pages. One might imagine it was some colossal : or the Second Part of *Don Quixote* : so long does it tarry on the road. Sometimes I fear that, like the Second Part of the *Galatea*, it may never appear at all. . . . . .

Well, as I was about to say, I sit down by the waters of Babylon and weep for the lovely, forlorn Galatea. I tootle in imagination on the gay *zampoña*. Perhaps a fitter instrument would be what Victor Hugo calls the *bug-pipe*, playing " l'air mélancolique de Bonnie Dundee ". (You catch the allusion to the Scots firm ?) The gay *zampoña*

is a rank failure. No echo from the Glasgow *bug-pipe* replies to my harmonious numbers. I have sometimes thought of taking violent measures :—

> of cutting foreign throats,
> Of breaches, ambuscadoes, Spanish blades,
> Of healths five fathoms deep.

But, though maledictions may answer with the unblushing *Lope*, they cannot be allowed in the presence of the beauteous *Galatea*. " Not before Mrs. Boffin ", as Silas Wegg beautifully remarked when the Golden Dustman indiscreetly asked for some explanation concerning the Decline and Fall *Off* the Roman Empire—an instructive work which the accomplished Wegg used to read aloud in the evenings. I have my little scraps of culture, and I console myself with thinking

> That no life lives for ever,
> That dead men rise up never,
> That even the weariest river
> Winds somewhere safe to sea.

So may it be. But, as this is from *The Garden of Proserpine*, and as Swinburne is not a favourite of yours, I pass on to other matters. . . . . .

It pleases me to know that you liked the paper on Henley. Its success has surprised me. I received the editor's telegram, asking me to write on Henley, at 3.45 p. m. The last post for London leaves Potter's Bar at 7.45 p. m. so I had to gallop for my life to be finished in time. The *Outlook* went to press next day, so it was impossible to read or correct in proof. I trembled at the prospect, but the general judgment is favourable. The notice has been much quoted, much as were the two or three purple patches from the lecture on *Lope*. *Habent sua fata libelli*. Edmund Gosse, who is a fine literary critic, is most enthusiastic over it :

" vibrating with emotion ", he found it, and so on. If it has any merit at all, it must be the merit of sincerity. If it has touched, or moved, or impressed, I am gratified for dear Henley's sake. I was deeply attached to him, and he had a tender place in his mighty heart. You have heard, of course, of " Henley's young men " (we are all middle-aged now, but the name survives). Perhaps I was the last of those to whom he was greatly drawn.

He was a rare poet and, at his best, a critic of singular insight. But, above all things, he was a man, a Leader. He never passed over perfunctory work in those who fought under him. But, if he burned you up with his disdain today, he was foremost to praise you to-morrow, if you deserved it at all. He was the only editor I ever met who encouraged one to speak the faith that is in one, and nothing pleased him better than to see you deliver an assault against overwhelming numbers. I have a little note from him, so typically curt and Napoleonic, that I will permit myself to quote it in full :—

" Dear Fitz : Glorious! Not a man left alive on the stricken field : the gunners sabred and the cannon captured! *Soldat! je suis content de toi!* Ever your affectionate W. E. H. "

That is the man all over : the Chief, lavish in recognition of all who served the sacred cause of good literature. It is difficult to convey how precious his praise was. I remember his saying before the others, at one of the very last *New Review* dinners;—" The next number will contain an article on Ernest Renan by the same man who wrote on Peter the Great last summer. There he sits. He can write—real writing. I know it : and *you* know it. And, when I've said that, I've said everything. " I felt as a nameless conscript must have felt who was called out from the ranks the day after Austerlitz, and whom the Great Captain decorated with his own gold cross on the battle-field before the whole

victorious army. He had a genius for encouraging you, and for drawing from you the best that it was in you to give.

There are at least two Henleys : the terrific corsair of the legend, and the gentle giant that I knew. No doubt there is some foundation for the buccaneer portrait. He smote the Philistines with a hammer that crushed them, and he beamed approval when one used one's rapier on them. I wonder if you remember meeting at the British Museum a Dr. Joseph Priebsch : he was the first man to speak of you to me. Well, Priebsch one day invested a penny in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, recognized my toasting-fork in one of the anonymous articles, and thenceforward used to amuse himself every evening, after a hard day's work at the Museum, by reading the wicked banter of the *Pall Mall*. He was a grave man, Dr. Priebsch, but he used almost to weep with laughter, and used often to waylay me to find out what was coming next. *Ces beaux jours sont passés*. We are all dispersed to the four winds of heaven. My health and spirits are gone, the *Pall Mall* is now the dullest paper in England, and Henley is in his grave. The old lion is dead, and the jackals can sleep in peace to-night. It was very amusing to Dr. Priebsch and others, but " Marsyas, that unhappy faun ", could scarcely be expected to enjoy the performance. However, the jackals can slumber again now. Dear old Henley was always highly amused to the very last with what he used to call my " gay cynicism ", but I no longer give it rein—at least in print. As Colonel Newcome said, " my pipe is put out ", and my merriment is over. " *¡Adiós, gracias ; adiós, donaires!* " But I have no right to inflict these sombre moods on you. Henley gave one the example of astonishing bravery, and perhaps something of the old humour will flash out of one unexpectedly at moments. Still, I rather hope it than expect it. I feel as though du-

ring the last two or three years a spring of some kind has snapped within me and that, strive as I may, I have become the most useless, witless dog imaginable. But--*¡basta!*

As I said in one of my last letters, though I am glad for your sake that the *Lope* is drawing to a close, I am sorry on my own account. I like to think that I have had a humble share in helping him along the road, but of course, in my heart, I know that that is all rubbish, and that he would have made his way without me. Yet, as I glance through these last pages, I feel as though I were parting from a friend whom I am not likely to meet again. They have given me an interest which I wanted, something to do : though I fear that, humble as my portion was, it ought to have been done infinitely better. I shall take special pains with the last chapter. Reviewers are very likely to read it more attentively than the rest of the book. I don't really care much for what they say, but there is a certain malicious pleasure in depriving the common run of them of their usual arms. However, the main point is to make it as good as possible for its own sake—for the love of excellence in itself, and as a tribute to a great man's memory. Honestly, I think you have done a most admirable piece of work. To say that your *Lope* is vastly better than my *Cervantes* is saying very little : for *Cervantes* seems to me a miserable performance. I did not think so when I wrote it; otherwise I should not have published it, of course. But I know better now, and I would willingly suppress every copy of it, if I could. I don't know any monograph in English, on any Spanish writer, which can at all compare with this of yours. If anything like justice is done to it, there need be no fear as to the result. But the reviewers and the public positively *prefer* bad books, and that must necessarily tell against you. I look about me in England for men competent (in the true sense) to review it, and I cannot put my hand on them. However, re-

viewers don't matter much in the long run. I don't know how many copies G. and G. will give you; but anyhow, if I may, I'm going to ask you to send copies to Rufino Cuervo, to Johannes Merck (a friend of mine in Hamburg and a good Spanish scholar), and perhaps one or two others. But there is plenty of time before us, and when the hour is about to strike I can, if you will allow me, send you their addresses.

I will now release you for today, and devote my attention to some of the new galleys of Lope. Perhaps it is just as well, for the correction of these, that they arrive while you are back again among your books. It is an ill wind that blows nobody good. Pray forgive this interminable, low-spirited scrawl, and believe me etc.

XV

September 12, 1903.

Mi querido amigo :

The conclusion of my letter to you the other day was extremely hurried, and I now propose to speak again of that revised version of Chorley's *Catálogo* concerning which I could just jot down a few hasty remarks on the last occasion.

As I told you, this revised version is in the British Museum; but the odd thing is that nobody in the British Museum knows of its existence. Nobody anywhere knows that there is such a thing. Chorley's brother (Henry Fothergill Chorley, a well-known musical critic and very accomplished man) was quite unaware of it. All the continental critics—M. y Pelayo, Léo Rouanet, Cotarelo, Foulché-Delbosc, Morel-Fatio, Farinelli, Restori, etc.—are equally in the dark. Most of these have assured me that there is no such thing : —" if there were, I could not help having heard of it ".

This is the burden of their song. Old Bernard Quaritch went a step further, and " proved " to me that not only was there no such thing, but that there *could* not be : " for I bought all Chorley's books, papers, etc. when he died, and there is no sign or trace of such a *Catálogo* as you mention. " Quaritch's manager, Michael Kearney, a most learned man, said to me one day : —" You always talk of the ' alleged revised *Catálogo* ', but really it is ' alleged ' by nobody except yourself. "

This is quite true. I, as the negro preacher said, am the one and only alligator! For curiously enough the Museum people persist in saying it is not in the Museum. They are all—everybody from the Museum officials and Menéndez y Pelayo downards—quite wrong. I have a copy of the thing at home, and the reason why it has escaped everybody is due to a mistake in the Catalogue and to the fact that the " alleged revised *Catálogo* " has strayed into a wrong section. I have often chuckled privately when learned persons have laboriously demonstrated to me that the very thing I had in my pocket while they were " demonstrating " had no real or concrete existence—" never did exist, and never *could* have existed ".

As I mentioned to you it does exist. I have just had another look at it, and it is revised from top to bottom, entirely *refondu* and embodies hundreds of minute corrections. It amounts in fact to a perfectly new work from beginning to end. I have hitherto kept this piece of knowledge to myself, and I assumed that you were very likely to know of it. However, it appears to have escaped you also. I do not think it right to be silent any longer and not allow you to use what is really no man's property. It is capital stuff all running to waste, and nobody utilizing it. This cannot be right, and it would be most improper of me if I did not point out to you that the thing which " never *could* have existed "

does exist and ought to be published. You need have no scruples about cutting into my cake, as people say. I don't want this particular cake. . . . . It would be hard therefore if I did not indicate to you the existence of the " alleged revised *Catálogo* ". That surely is the privilege of a friend (and alligator). It seems to me that in the interests of all students you ought to reprint the WHOLE of Chorley's *Catálogo* as it stands revised by him, adding what you please, and stating what the basis is. I have long worked over Chorley's ground and am amazed at his full and accurate knowledge—marvellous for the time. . . . . .

XVI

September 14, 1903.

Mi querido amigo :

. . . . . .

I am very glad you cut out my stuff about " toleration " etc., if it did not express your view. Fundamentally I imagine your view and mine to be pretty much alike, and that the difference lies merely in the way of expressing the matter. There is, of course, a touch of irony in my remark. So far as sixteenth and seventeenth century people are concerned, I have a notion that it is a case of pot and kettle between the extremists on both sides. I had just as soon fall into Calvin's clutches as Torquemada's—or *vice versa*. In either case, I should be served up piping hot very soon. And I find that, so far as genuine toleration goes, few people now-a-days have what Matt. Arnold used to call " the root of the matter " in them. Catholics, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Wesleyans, Lutherans, Baptists—lay and clergy—I am astounded at the savage illiberality of all of them. I often meet with Torquemada in broad-cloth of different kinds

and colours. He would dearly like to fry me, and, if he doesn't do it, it is simply because he can't. He would if he dared, but in his wretched little heart he has a fear that two might play at that game, and so he sits in his cave like the Giant Despair, gnawing his claws and wishing he could " get at me ". Most clerics of all sects dislike me exceedingly and, perhaps from their point of view, they are right. I don't dislike them at all. On the contrary, they are a source of intense amusement to me, for the most part, and I only laugh at them. This, I regret to say, they rarely take in a good-natured spirit : banter is odious to them. And I really LIKE the old-fashioned clerical scholar who was not much of an " earnest worker "—the pagan bishops who edited Greek plays, or, like Liddell of Christchurch, compiled Lexicons. You remember the famous epigram about the latter ? He was, I ought to say, an extremely tall, slight man. Mrs. Liddell, on the other hand, was short and, as our Spanish friends would say, *de buenas carnes*. Dean Liddell and Mrs. Liddell flourished at a time when Oxford was rent asunder by foaming ecclesiastical factions—Broad Church, Low Church, High Church, and High and Dry. Some wag, seeing the contrasted pair taking their constitutional one afternoon, fired off the following epigram which still survives :

> I am the Dean of Christchurch, Sir :
> This is my wife : look well at her :
> SHE is the Broad : I am the High :
> WE are the Universit—*y*.

Ah, yes! I have a weakness for these old pagan scholars —lettered bishops, deans and canons—in their gaiters, shovel-hats, aprons, white bands and chokers. Unhappily the race is dying out, and the " earnest worker " doth possess the land. This little scrap of exegesis may cast a lurid

light on the sub-current of irony under-running the sentence on toleration etc. in the *Span. Lit.* But you were a thousand times right to cut it out, so as to avoid any possibility of misunderstanding. You would find somewhere in Henley's *New Review* an article of mine on Ernest Renan which had the good fortune to displease everybody—except the Renan family. However, though I say it who shouldn't, if you want to find anyone more tolerant or liberal in these explosive topics than myself, you will be a long time in the quest for that Holy Grail.

I fancy I have pretty well said everything that occurs to me about the *Lope*. You will think over what should be done as regards the Chorley *Catálogo*, and will let me know. I should print the entire thing wholesale; but that is a matter of opinion, and perhaps I am prejudiced in favour of " the alleged revised *Catálogo* ". It has given me so much fun in the past, that I am grateful to it. But enough for the moment! I have still a little spare paper left, and how can I put it to better use than by dropping into anec-dotage, the privilege of advancing years ? You are probably familiar with the Greek *Lexicon* of Liddell (of Christchurch) and Scott (of Westminster). There is a deal of human nature even in humanists. If anybody pointed out a mistake in the *Lexicon* to Liddell, he would say—" Ah! this is bad! SCOTT did this part! " Similarly, Scott would observe " Hum! dreadful, dreadful! What *can* LIDDELL have been thinking of ?" Another delightful old pagan cleric, one of the greatest Grecians we have ever produced, was Thompson, the late Master of Trinity at Cambridge. A friend of mine used often to stay with him from Saturday to Monday, and has convulsed me with laughter by describing how—Sunday after Sunday—the Master *always* contrived to be very busy in the morning—so busy that time slipped away. Then—*invariably*—the Master would give a sudden start and, in a simu-

lated voice of regret, would exclaim :—" Dear me, dear me! it is ten minutes past eleven, and chapel begins at eleven. This is *very* sad! We cannot, *of course*, disturb the service. So—let us go out on the lawns, and have a PIOUS TALK ABOUT LITERATURE! " And so it was, Sunday after Sunday—" Why, God bless me! we are late again!! Incredible! Let us not distract the devout by a tardy entry! We will just go round the lawns. I want to show you a little emendation of mine in *Electra*. It is the next best thing to a punctual attendance at divine service. "

I can give you a *mot inédit* of Thompson's. You know that Magdalen College (pronounced *Maudlin*) at Oxford is a college of great importance. There is also a very unimportant Magdalen College at Cambridge. It lies away on the other side of the river, and, owing to its financial difficulties, often takes in undergraduates who have got into scrapes at Trinity, King's, John's, etc., and have been " sent down ". An Oxford man was dining at Thompson's one evening, and said—: " I believe, Master, that you have no Magdalen among your colleges here. " Thompson looked pensive, like a man who is trying to recall some obscure details from a remote corner of his memory, and then, in a sonorous voice, declaimed the following eighteenth-century sentence—: " Yes, Sir, yes! We have at Cambridge a TRANSPONTINE institution of that name—for the reception of FALLEN *undergraduates!* » It is difficult to be funnier than that. Lastly, there is his reply to a request that the Girton girls might be allowed to play lawn-tennis on the lawns at Trinity :—

" The Master of Trinity presents his compliments to the Principal of Girton, and regrets to say that he must decline the Principal's request. The College lawns are strictly reserved for horticultural purposes—not for *husbandry"!*

The Master thus conveyed his impression that the constant incursion of these young ladies from Girton might turn his

young men's fancy to other thoughts than those connected with the approaching tripos. These ungodly old scholars are the men after my heart. *El Brocense* was one of them. His remark to the Inquisition on the three Magian Kings always tickles me : *Ni eran tres, ni eran Magos, ni eran Reyes.* But I have babbled on too long about these extraneous matters. I trust that, by the time this reaches you, you will have received an ample supply of galleys—and that you will take *your* time in correcting them. Let me know what you decide about Chorley, and—even otherwise—give me news of you. It is always a pleasure to me to hear of or from you, etc.

XVII

October 27, 1903.

Mi querido amigo :

Your letter of October 16 reached me last night, and I hasten to send you a reassuring line in reply. As you already know, Chorley's *Catálogo* is in the printer's hands, and here I sit expectant of—and bawling for—proofs. I do not fancy he will tarry very long this time, as my repeated volleys seem to have scared him a little. Meanwhile, G. and G. tell me that they have sent you proofs of title-page, dedication, and preface. Keep the preface by you till the last ; at all events till you receive proofs of the Chorley addition. My reason for saying so is this : aided by another hand, I concocted for the bibliography an explanatory, preliminary note. The drift of it (in brief) is that your list of comedias was in type when I drew your attention to the revision of Chorley's work in the British Museum; that you resolved not to leave this any longer in the dark; ending with the usual flourishes to Chorley and yours truly. My

inclination was to smuggle the *Catálogo* in without any trumpeting, or at least to do whatever tootling need be done in an unobserved corner. But, on thinking it over, it strikes me that this is not a good plan : it is not fair to you, to Lope, and to G. and G.

From the publishers' point of view, Chorley is a bit of a find, and they might justifiably ask you not to hide that light under a bushel. As concerns Lope, it is plainly a gain for him to have his bibliography worked out more thoroughly then it has been hitherto. And, as regards yourself, if—in your anxiety to avoid advertisement—you tucked in the acknowledgment where I originally placed it, you might be misunderstood by some of the numerous *grincheux* who are always ready to carp and attribute motives. Probably the simplest plan would be for you to wait till you receive the bibliographical galleys, read the preliminary note, tone it down as much as you like, and cut out pretty freely the flourish in my honour (with which I have nothing to do). And then, if it seems good to you, transfer from appendix to preface. This strikes me as the best and simplest policy. Chorley deserves to be put forward prominently ; and, being the man he is—an authority universally recognized—it will be a fresh attraction to your own admirable text to publish this excellent supplement. Some ass might bray—" Who is Rennert ? " But he could hardly bray—" Who is Chorley ? " without proclaiming his asininity to the whole world. As for myself, you need not hesitate to cut out as freely as you choose. Coleridge (I think) says somewhere that :

> The darling sin that the Devil loves
> Is the pride that apes humility.

There is no mock-humility about me : as is manifest from the fact that I say quite frankly I can do some things uncom-

monly well!! But, except as a safety-valve to your own feelings, you can show me to a back-seat without the least fear of being misconstrued. However, when the whole bibliography is before you, you will know how to act : at present you are in the dark, or in the twilight, at least. And, when you make up your mind, it might be simpler to send the preface to me : it will save the time taken in sending it up to Glasgow and down again. . . . . .

The work is now over, and I am heartily sorry to leave it. But it lives as a pleasing remembrance, and a pledge of friendship. Lastly, I can but thank you for the remarkable patience and forbearance which you have shewn in supporting a thousand delays, and accepting my continual, teasing intervention. That ends the story. I am also sending you a clean copy of the list of comedias as it stood originally, so that you may be able to compare it with the new bibliography when this arrives. And so, *ave atque vale!* etc.

XVIII

November 10, 1903.

Mi querido amigo :

Your letter of October 30 reached me yesterday, and —though I have no fresh news to give you of Lope or of Chorley—as you tell me that some of my scribbles have raised your spirits at times of depression, I send one more line to bid you be of good cheer. . . . . .

I am pleased to learn that the Introduction to *D. Q.* in Ormsby's version survives the test of a second reading. I am always afraid to look at it, for it was written during a period of great physical and mental depression, and I do not want to be confronted with the signs of weakness and

fatigue which must be everywhere visible in it. So it cheers me to know that you were prepared to overlook these blots and to be pleased with other qualities which may be present. But perhaps only the eye of friendship can discover them, and certainly the average reader would not give me the help of this transfiguring, glorifying vision.

A considerable part of that essay was written in bed with a pencil, and the proofs were languidly corrected (they are choke-full of blunders, I fancy) at Schlangenbad and Nauheim. In the long correspondence which we have now had, and which cannot fail to disclose certain salient traits of character, you have probably noted that I am a creature of moods, and that in an instant I pass " from grave to gay, from lively to severe ". *D. Q.* was not handled by me in a gay hour, and so we may leave it buried where it is—unwept, unhonoured, and unsung. It may be that, one of these days, I shall fuse all these materials in the furnace, and, removing no end of dross, shall try to make something of them. But I have a dread of my past writings, grisly spectres which I avoid. If, in a moment of high spirits, I ever dip into one of these ponds, it sends my moral temperature down to zero. The baths at Nauheim are child's play compared to it. And so I am not at all sure that I shall ever attempt in practise to carry out the design that tempts me from time to time.

Just at present I am rather pleased in a fatuous way with the *Introduction* to the *Galatea*. But that is probably only because it is unpublished : when it does appear at last it may seem to me very bad : in fact, that is certain to happen. But—the reverse of what occurred with *D. Q.*—I do not connect it with unwelcome associations. On the contrary : collaborating with the Imp of Mischief, I passed some pleasant hours when at work on it. Cervantes has been belauded, and abused, at different periods, and I fancy we are most

of us a little tired of the two extremes. Still I do not know that it will be accounted to me as a merit to have struck out a new line : for I suppose it *is* a new line to banter and rally the great man, as one does a friend of flesh and blood. A weak point in the criticism of these immortals is this (as it seems to me) : the critic is weighed down by the burden of tradition, he feels compelled to take up a reverential position, and the end of it is that the Immortal fades into a pale phantom, stripped of all human qualities. This is unfair all round. The man of genius was not really so anaemic as he seems in the picture : the critic is not really so prone before Mumbo-Jumbo as he appears to be. A strong point in your *Lope* is the human interest which you awake as to the man. You don't think it necessray to say that his every line is perfect, nor that he always escaped from Mrs. Putipher. But, for some extraordinary reason, it is sought to deny that Cervantes was a man at all. Now, I refuse to believe that he was a tedious bundle of perfections. To his contemporaries he was no doubt an intensely human figure : sometimes showing himself capable of the highest heroism, sometimes cutting a precious poor figure : sometimes a great original genius, sometimes a docile imitator, languid and uninterested in his task. And, of course, his contemporaries must have said so very freely : and he himself, if he ever had an interval of self-criticism, must have thought some of his work was nothing very wonderful. In this particular matter, I think we may shake off the adoring posture, and imitate the independent spirit of his contemporaries. Nobody is horrified if you say that the *Two Gentlemen of Verona* is not particularly brilliant, and, if you go on to observe that the prose of *Love's L. Lost* is a vast deal better than the verse, I presume nobody would dissent. But there is an idea that what is (at worst) a choleric word when applied to Shakespeare is rank blasphemy when applied to Cervantes. I remember some

years ago talking about C. to a very well-known Spanish lady who figures in my *Span. Lit.* At last she interrupted —" But, do you know, you are actually criticizing Cervantes ? " " But, of course, my dear lady ! That is what I am here for! " However, a certain set have chosen to make him a Little Tin God on Wheels, and one knows what to expect from them. On the other hand, I believe that the Old Man would have taken what I say in very good part, and even that he would have been amused. And I rather hope that I shall find some readers nowadays—yourself among them—who will smile, even if they do not agree. At all events, it will be something new. Pastorals are often so dull that one feels bound to enliven the discussion of them. Some of my little jests are embedded in the notes : one of these, on a previous translator of the *Galatea*, is six pages long! I sent an extract from it to our friend Mr. Webster : he tells me that he and his family laughed heartily. But that is no test. I'm an acquired taste, liks caviar : and the ordinary reader cares nothing about me. I don't blame him Only—I should be courting disaster if I published these things of mine in a volume. Fortunately, I'm an " unnatural parent ". Once the *Galatea* appears I shall forget all about her, and go on to something else. . .

XIX

March 3, 1904.

Mi querido amigo :

. . . . . .

It does not afflict me at all that the *Galatea* should not " go down " with the public or the papers. Where Cervantes failed in 1585, he could not expect to succeed in 1904 : and my little helping would be of no use to him. That is, if you

call it helping. Good old Henry Edward says I slash my author into ribbons. Very likely! It is very good-natured of you to enlist the kindly offices of Mr. Duffy—good-natured to me, but hard on him : for he can not feel any real interest in a *démodé* novel that failed over three hundred years ago. I should be interested to see what you say, for you will probably hit on a weak spot here and there, and thus help me to patch it up. But it would be perfectly unreasonable to expect the *Galatea* to interest the general public. Even Henry Edward can not bring that about. And, to be quite candid, I don't much care if the *Complete Works* etc. are dropped altogether. Against my better judgment, I allowed myself to be beguiled by the syrens in Glasgow. But, for me, Cervantes is a man of two books : *D. Q.* and the *Novelas*. We shall look rather silly if we drop the scheme, once it has been announced. But I am not at all sure that it would not be the wisest thing to do, and, if G. and G. make any ign in that direction, I shall encourage them strongly to repeat the exploit of Jonah, and heave the dead-weight overboard. However, to come back to the original point, I am past caring what the critics say : or think I am—which is not quite the same thing.

Tennyson is known to have been very sensitive to criticism, and this was apparent at a very early age. When he was up at Cambridge he used occasionally to read his poems to his friends—in that deep, rolling voice of his—out of the celebrated " little butcher's account-book ", which we know through FitzGerald. He would get his friends together—Thackeray, Edward FitzGerald, Arthur Hallam, John Kemble, Thomson of Trinity, and the rest—and would say : " Now, I will read you my last poems. If you find anything you like, say so : if there are things you *don't* like, I don't want to hear what they are. " I suppose that this is only a particularly *naïf* expression of an egotism rooted in most

of us. There is something very amusing to me in this boy lording it over the other youths, and imposing himself on them as a great poet. Years afterwards he complained to George Meredith that—" Gilfillan says I am not a *great* poet : he has NO RIGHT to say that. " Geordie explained at enormous length that Gilfillan was *nobody*, that it did not matter a straw what he said, and so forth. Tennyson listened in silence, and at the end of Geordie's tirade, remarked in his booming bass voice : " Gilfillan has NO RIGHT to say that I am *not* a great poet. " One could get nothing else into him, and nothing else out of him. And I remember another manifestation of his *naïveté*. When the *Cambridge Essays* came out they included a paper which was a *terrific* eulogy on Tennyson. Cambridge had produced a great poet, and was not likely to keep it secret : not that it mattered, for Tennyson was in the meridian of his fame. But you might as well expect a hen not to announce the laying of a specially fine egg. Somebody came to see Tennyson, and found him reading *Cambridge Essays*. The deep-voiced bard laid his hand on the book, and observed with quaint simplicity :—" People say that I don't like to be criticized. Bosh! Read that! *That's* how I like to be criticized. " It was a flamboyant panegyric. . . . . .

I much regret that I never heard Tennyson speak. Browning I did meet at the very end of his career. The earliest occasion was at a private house when Edison's agent, Colonel Gouraud (I *think* that is the name) shewed the phonograph for the first time in England, long before it was brought out in public. The various lions present had, of course, to roar into it in one shape or other. Joachim *played* into it : Calvé *sang* into it : Leighton delivered a brief oleaginous oration into it. Then poor Browning was dragged forward to recite into it his *Ghent* poem. At the very first line he came to grief. As I was standing by him, I coached him for four or

five stanzas, till my memory failed. He got well out of the scrape by bellowing (he had a hideously harsh voice) into the machine : " I'm sorry to say I've forgotten my own poem, and the gentleman next me, who knows my verses far better than I do myself, says he doesn't remember any more. But, though I *have* forgotten my own line, one thing I never *shall* forget : and that is the amazing exhibition of Mr. Edison's genius that we have seen to-night " etc. etc. That was my introduction to Browning. I only met him two or three times later and, though he was always very affable—introducing me genially as the man who " knows my verses better than I myself do " etc.—he never said anything that struck me as memorable. It was not *bad* talk : it was blunt, energetic talk, the sort of thing you might hear from a particularly well-educated financier! He abused Mr. Gladstone very violently, as I well remember; but persisted in considering *himself* as a good Liberal, and was rather snappish when I respectfully dissented. The invective was vigorous, but it lacked finish : it was vehement, but there was nothing corrosive in it : no phrase that burnt into your soul.

Tennyson's conversation abounded in verbal gems. I can give you one story of such : an *inédit* story. A friend of mine, then (1869) an unknown young man of promise but now a writer of distinction, was introduced to Tennyson in your favourite temple. He was called out of the Reading Room and presented to Tennyson in the Greco-Roman gallery—immediately on your left as you enter the Museum building. Tennyson simply nodded and shook hands. Otherwise, he behaved as though he were quite alone in the sculpture gallery. There is at the further end of the room a lovely head of Augustus as a boy : a most beautiful child. Tennyson glanced at it, and said quickly—" False but fair, fair but false ". Then turning to the adjacent bust of Caesar, he said in a very loud voice that rang through the place :—" The

mighty Julius! The Compeller of the Whirlwind! A MAN, by God! A MAN! " And in a lower key—" Brutus! Caesar! Have they met now ? Who knows, who knows ? " With this he moved slowly down the gallery, followed by the others who did not venture to make any remark. He came to a halt at last very abruptly before the bearded head of Hadrian, and the beautiful bust of Antinous. He gazed very intently at the Antinous for two or three minutes, and then suddenly broke the dead silence with :—" Ha! here we have *the inscrutable Bithynian!* If these lips were but unlocked—*then*—we should understand the secret of the antique world. " These words he pronounced very, very slowly—" like a man in a dream, a man who spoke out of Hadrian's age ". Is it not a gorgeous phrase—*the inscrutable Bithynian*—to be thrown off in a reverie ? You could not convey more sonorously the baffling enigma of the youth's strange personality. It clearly comes from the same mint as—

I salute thee, Mantovano, I who loved thee since my day began !
Wielder of the stateliest measure ever moulded by the lips of man

or—not less splendid than the lines to Virgil—the address to Catullus—

the *Ave atque vale* of the poet's hopeless woe—
Tenderest of Roman poets—eighteen hundred years ago.

My contribution would have been no more brilliant than the flustered Heine's remark to Goethe that there were " very fine plums on the road to Weimar ". But I should willingly have made a fool of myself on the chance of securing such a jewel as ' *the inscrutable Bithynian* '. But I must apologize for pouring out this literary small beer. I trust that you don't get it every day of your life, or you will curse me by all your gods. . . . . .

XX

December 14, 1913.

Mi querido amigo :

If there is a gleam of sunshine to-morrow, I shall follow the swallows southwards, and try to shake off the wretched influenza that clings to me with a really odious fidelity. My trunk is packed, but there are a few " last things " to be done, before I can leave with a good conscience. One of these is to send you my thanks for your letter. I am glad that the unspeakable *Cervantes* arrived at last : without, I hope, getting you into too much trouble with the Customs-House authorities. I find it difficult to believe that the American author needs to be " protected " against the English scribbler; but I freely admit that anybody ought to be protected against *Cervantes*. I would not read it on any account : it is quite bad enough to have written it. I only trust that I have not caused you to be suspected of black magic, unholy arts of every kind. That you should have received a book like *Cervantes* might well awake alarm in the soft, official heart.

No : there are no fine phrases, no flowers of rhetoric this time : nothing that anybody can quote, and I am amused to see that the reviewers are puzzled, for they commonly " lift " from me with some little freedom. But there is, I venture to think, one literary quality in the book : I mean the quality of irony. Look at p. 8, n. 2. In my MS. I had these words at the end · " This is how a note ought not to be written. " But I did not want to frighten the good people at the Clarendon Press, and so ran my pen through the mocking phrase. However, the thing is over and done with. I am an unnatural parent. Once my intellectual

offspring are born, I have no more care for them. This is peculiarly the case with *Cervantes*. Having shewn that I can be duller than the dullest, I propose to take a rest and then return to *literature* once more. I am dreadfully tired; influenza, I suppose, or that combined with the fatigue of correcting about 1.200 pages of proofs. A Spanish version of *Lit. Esp.* is out, but I only have one copy : so you escape that—for the present.

Are you bringing out a new bibliography of Lope separately ? I suppose the literature about him increases every day. Fortunately the task of tackling it has fallen into the right hands. I should be perfectly helpless with such a subject before me. Now I must close. So with all good wishes for Christmas and the New Year, believe me etc.

6445-28. — Tours, Imprimerie Arrault et C^ie^.

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APUNTES PARA UNA BIBLIOGRAFIA DE LAS OBRAS NO DRAMATICAS ATRIBUIDAS A LOPE DE VEGA

Desde hace tiempo venía tomando apuntes para una bibliografía [1] de las obras no dramáticas de Lope. Un trabajo reciente — tan interesante como todos los suyos — de mi amigo el profesor Restori [2] me determina a dar a esos informes apuntes la redacción definitiva, y a publicarlos, en la esperanza de que puedan contribuir a un mejor conocimiento de la obra del poeta.

En el estado actual de las cosas, es necesario ante todo formar un inventario minucioso, y lo más fiel que sea posible, de la producción atribuida a Lope. Después vendrán la discusión de la autenticidad [3], la depuración crítica del texto, la determinación de las fechas, el comentario erudito...

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1 Tienen relación con la bibilografía de Lope las obras a que nos referimos en los números 74, 134 *bis*, 147, 156 bis, 157 *bis*, 174, 179, 198, y 200 *bis* de los presentes *Apuntes*.

2. *Sonetti dimenticati di Lope de Vega*, trabajo aludido en el número 218 de los presentes *Apuntes*. Terminado este artículo, llega a mi noticia el fallecimiento de mi querido amigo el Sr. Restori, hombre lleno de sabiduría y de bondad, a quién debían mucho los estudios sobre Lope. Su memoria será siempre grata para los que tuvimos la dicha de conocerle.

3. En lo relativo a la *autenticidad* de las obras que por haber sido atribuidas a Lope figuran en los presentes *Apuntes*, convendrá pro-

Claro está que para ello hay que partir de la edición de las *Obras sueltas* [1], que dirigió a fines del siglo XVIII el erudito don Francisco Cerdá y Rico [2]. En ella — con una meticulosidad que dice mucho acerca de la estimación que la gente de letras conservaba con relación a Lope, en pleno fervor de la propaganda clasicista — se recogieron piadosamente hasta las mínimas producciones que el colector pudo llegar a conocer.

No siempre presidió en esa labor el acierto, y así entraron en la colección composiciones que manifiestamente no son de Lope [3]. Quedaron también algunas fuera de la colección, como no podía por menos de ocurrir [4]. Pero no puede negarse un aplauso al colector y al editor, que consiguieron así salvar del olvido gran parte de la producción lopiana, la más descuidada precisamente, es decir la no dramática, puesto que las comedias, no obstante las prédicas de los clasicistas, continuaban gozando de favor entre el público.

Faltan y sobran, pues, en ese verdadero *corpus* de la producción no dramática de Lope, algunas composiciones. Es

ceder con suma cautela. Recuérdese lo que decía en 1622 Sebastián Francisco de Medrano, en el prólogo a la *Décima octava parte de las comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio* (*Pérez Pastor, B. M.*, III, núm. 2032). Después de asegurar que Lope había estado a punto de no proseguir la publicación de sus comedias, añade : « fué la causa el haber visto tantos librillos de romances y otros versos, con su nombre, así divinos como humanos, que no le ha pasado por el pensamiento escribirlos, fuera de lo que algunos ciegos, gitanos y mulatos van pregonando por las calles, levantándole mil testimonios a sus ojos, que en otras ciudades es cosa de lástima el poco respeto con que algunos hombres dan a un sacerdote docto y bien nacido por autor de sus desatinos, ya por acreditarlos, ya por ganar de comer con ellos ».

1. Véase el número 162 de los presentes *Apuntes*.

2. Francisco Cerdá y Rico, valenciano (1730-1792) : véase Cejador, *Historia*, VI, 174. En las *O. S.* no está mencionado el nombre del colector de las mismas.

3. Véase el número 162 de los presentes *Apuntes*, al final (Resumen, letras *b* y *c*).

4. Véanse los Indices finales de los presentes *Apuntes*.

necesario también introducir algo de más método y sistema en su conjunto embrollado y farragoso. A dar cumplimiento, en lo que me ha sido posible, a esas necesidades — como preparación para la futura edición crítica e íntegra de las obras del gran poeta, que la ingrata posteridad le debe como un homenaje a su gloria — tienden estos modestos apuntes. No creo, ni mucho menos, que con ellos esté terminada la labor. Espero y deseo, por el contrario, que los lopistas vengan a completarlos y a corregir las omisiones y errores en que, a mi pesar, no podré por menos de haber incurrido. Tampoco abrigo una gran esperanza de que las composiciones hasta ahora olvidadas y desconocidas, hayan de añadir muchos quilates a la gloria del poeta. Dada la facilidad, a veces lamentable, con que éste desparramó a manos llenas versos panegíricos, más bien podría temerse que disminuyeran esa gloria, si no se hallase tan bien cimentada. Pero hay ríos de cuya generosa corriente se espera siempre, por entre pedruscos y arenas, el regalo de alguna preciosa pepita de oro. Por eso creo que no debe darse por perdido este humilde trabajo de rebusca.

Porque es éste ciertamente un trabajo humilde : algo así como *la contabilidad de las letras*. El gran artista, incorregible dilapidador, arroja sus tesoros al viento, y el erudito, al cabo de los siglos, lucha por identificarlos, entre los *detritus* de la historia, para restituirlos a la admiración de la Humanidad.

Los resultados de esa tarea oscura y paciente no dejan a veces de ser fructuosos. Pásese la vista por los índices que acompañan a estos *Apuntes*, y se vendrá en conocimiento del número, y a veces también de la importancia, de las producciones del poeta, hasta ahora desconocidas para los más, que quedan perfectamente individualizadas, y que con leve trabajo de copia podrían incluirse de inmediato en algo así como un suplemento de las *Obras sueltas*, hasta que

podamos disfrutar una edición íntegra y en consonancia con los adelantos modernos, de las obras de Lope.

Advertencias.

Los presentes *Apuntes:*

a) Tienden principalmente a determinar el conjunto de la producción lopiana, y el momento en que cada obra se publicó, o se atribuyó a Lope por primera vez. Por ello señalan, en general, entre las ediciones antiguas, una sola : la *princeps* de cada obra. Fácilmente podrán hallarse las ediciones antiguas sucesivas en las obras de bibliografía. Además, se señala, siempre que la hay, una edición moderna de cada obra de Lope, ya sea en las *Obras sueltas,* o en una edición posterior.

b) Se refieren tan sólo a los impresos; pero aluden a los manuscritos cuando de ellos se ha encontrado noticia impresa.

c) Indican en cada caso el tomo y página de las *Obras sueltas* en donde se encuentra cada obra de Lope. La falta de esa indicación denota que la obra no se halla mencionada en el *Indice general alfabético* de las *Obras sueltas* (tomo XXI). Este índice parece haber sido redactado con escrupulosidad. He notado algunas faltas, pero no creo que abunden otras semejantes [1].

1. La composición que comienza : « Yace un astrólogo aquí » (*O. S.*, IV, 401) falta en el Indice (*O. S.*, XXI, 224, 372 y 498).

La que comienza : « La verde primavera » (*O. S.*, VI, 451), falta igualmente en *O. S.*, XXI, 388, aunque está en *O. S.*, XXI, 238 y 330.

La que comienza : « Plantas sin fruto, fértiles de rosas » (*O. S.*, XVII, 319), falta también (*O. S.*, XXI, 295, 409 y 469).

Ténganse en cuenta asimismo las dificultades que derivan del empleo de la antigua ortografía. Por ejemplo : palabras que actualmente comienzan con *C* hay que buscarlas en la *Q* y otras en la *Z*. Algunas que comienzan con *F* se incluyen entre las de la *P* (*Ph*), y otras con *S* también entre las de la *P* (*Ps*).

El *Indice* de las *O. S.* se reimprimió en *B. A. E.*, XXXVIII (*Obras no dramáticas de L. de V.*) págs. 544-563, corrigiéndolo en esta parte, para ponerlo en consonancia con la ortografía moderna.

d) Constituyen un esbozo del inventario de obras no dramáticas atribuidas a nuestro poeta : trabajo preliminar a toda depuración crítica. La depuración ha de venir después, y no se ha efectuado aquí metódicamente con respecto a *todas* las obras que pudieran requerirla. Huelga, pues, añadir, que, al incluir aquí una composición, no me constituyo en garante de que sea en realidad obra de Lope, sino de que se le ha atribuido.

e) Anticipan, en algún caso, esa depuración, cuando los estudios efectuados con anterioridad han permitido ya llegar a conclusiones útiles de conocer.

f) Dan cabida, no sólo a los libros que contienen obras de Lope, sino también a aquellos otros en los cuales se atribuyen a éste composiciones publicadas como anónimas, o se recuerdan otras ya impresas, pero olvidadas.

g) Enumeran asimismo ciertas obras en las cuales no existen, pero podría sospecharse fundadamente que existiesen, composiciones de Lope, publicadas por primera vez; a fin de que no se pierda para los demás el trabajo empleado en averiguarlo.

h) Incluyen ciertas colecciones dramáticas de las cuales forman parte prólogos, y dedicatorias (verdaderas epístolas, o cartas), que conviene tener en cuenta.

i) No indican, sobre todo en lo que se refiere a las colecciones de romances, que no conozco directamente, todas las obras atribuidas a Lope que se contienen en dichas colecciones. Para averiguarlo convendrá consultar el índice alfabético de estos *Apuntes*, y acudir, en definitiva, a las colecciones originales.

j) Emplean la ortografía moderna, en la casi totalidad de los casos.

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¿1582 ?

1. Gracián Dantisco (Lucas). *Galateo español*. ¿ Primera edición : Madrid, 1582 ? (vid. Cejador, *Historia*, III, 168-169; Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, I, pág. 331). El autor falleció el 8 de Julio de 1587 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, 379).

En *O. S.*, XVII, 279, y XXI, 190, están incluidos dos sonetos de Lope dedicados a dicha obra (« Alegres nuevas, venturoso día », y « La hermosa y muy discreta gallardía »). Ignoro si salieron en la primera edición del *Galateo*, o en otra de las numerosas posteriores. El texto de *O. S.* procede de la edición de Madrid, 1632, descrita por Gallardo (*Ensayo*, III, columnas 116-118), la cual lleva una aprobación de 1599.

1585

2. Padilla (Fray Pedro). *Jardín espiritual*. Madrid, 1585. Contiene versos de Lope (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, I, núm. 228). El soneto (« Francisco cuyo santo humilde celo ») figura en *O. S.* (XXI, 169), y también en *B. A. E.* (XXXV, 46).

1586

3. López Maldonado (Juan). *Cancionero*. Madrid, 1586.

Una canción de Lope (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, I, núm. 241). Gallardo (*Ensayo*, III, columna 462) copia solamente el primer verso de la misma :

Al sacro asiento de la cipria diosa.

1588

4. Diaz (Francisco). *Tratado nuevamente impreso de todas las enfermedades de los riñones &*. Madrid, 1588. Soneto de Lope al autor (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, I, núm. 281). El soneto :

A la inmortalidad os mueve y llama,

está copiado por el Sr. Restori (*Sonetti dimenticati*, pág. 8 de la tirada aparte).

¿ 1588-1591 ?

4 bis. Flor de varios y nuevos romances, Primera y Segunda Parte, ahora nuevamente recopiladas y puestas en orden por Andrés de Villalta, natural de Valencia. Añadióse ahora nuevamente la Tercera Parte por Felipe Mey &. Valencia, Miguel de Prados, 1591. La licencia es de 1588, lo cual supone ediciones anteriores (Durán, *Catálogo de documentos*, en *B. A. E.*, XVI, 683; Foulché-Delbosc, *Bibliografía*, números 4 y 5, en *Obras de Góngora*, III, 112; Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, columnas 1055 y 1056).

En esta colección aparecieron como anónimos, según Durán, los romances reseñados en nuestros números 162 (« Amada pastora mía »; « Por las riberas famosas »; « Sentado en la seca hierba »; « De ver una escura cueva »; « El tronco de ovas vestido »); 180 tripl. (« Por los jardines de Chipre »); y 182 *c* (« El mayor Almoralife »; « De la armada de su rey »; « En la prisión está Adulce »), entre otros Los de

los números 180 tripl. y 182 *c*, no están en las *O. S.* Vid. también nuestro número 224.

Inclúyense asimismo en ella, según dicho *Catálogo*, otros dos romances, que aunque a título meramente conjetural, me atrevo a señalar aquí como presumibles obras de Lope :

El primero : « Ensíllenme el potro rucio » (en *B. A. E.*, X, núm. 22, con procedencia de la *Flor de varios y nuevos romances, primera parte*, del *Romancero General*, primera parte, y de la *Historia de los bandos &*, de Pérez de Hita) es uno de los más famosos del *Romancero*, y se alude a él en multitud de romances. Pertenece al ciclo de Azarque el Granadino, que parece haber sido uno de los predilectos de Lope (vid. en *B. A. E.*, X, núm. 247, el romance : « Oidme, señor Belardo »). Cierto que Liñán escribió también algunos romances de Azarque (Liñán, *Rimas*, Zaragoza, 1876, 108; Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, pág. 76); pero probablemente era otro psonaje distinto : Azarque el de Ocaña(vid. en *B. A. E.*, X, núm. 194, el romance indicado por Pérez Pastor). Pues bien, en ese romance hay una alusión (« Mira, amiga, mi retrato — que abiertos los ojos tiene ») que podría relacionarse con una incidencia de los amores juveniles de Lope, puesta en claro (*Vida*, 50-51) por los Srs. Rennert y Castro. La protagonista de *La Dorotea* (II, 3) amenazaba con picar los ojos con una aguja a un retrato de don Fernando; y parece que lo puso en práctica, pues en el romance : « De la armada de su rey » (en *B. A. E.*, X, núm. 177, con procedencia de esta misma *Flor*, segunda parte, y del *Romancero General*, primera parte), dice Felisalva, refiriéndose a un retrato de Almo alife : « Del [retrato] vuestro sabré deciros — que parece que le pesa — de que, faltándole el ver — vivir y mirarle pueda ». El segundo de dichos romances (« De la armada... ») resulta ser posterior a alguna expedición naval (probablemente la de las Azores, en 1583, más bien que la de la Invencible, en 1588), así como el primero (« Ensíllenme... ») tiene

que ser anterior a 1585, fecha de otro de Góngora (« Ensíllenme el asno rucio », *Obras de Góngora*, edición de M. Foulché-Delbosc, I, 79), que constituye una parodia del mismo.

El otro romance : « A sombras de un acebuche » (en *B. A. E.*, X, núm. 156) podría también ser de Lope. Alude a él Liñán (romance : « De ver una escura cueva », atribuido indebidamente a Lope; *B. A. E.*, XVI, núm. 1632-1633). El romance : « A sombras de un acebuche » menciona un destierro que el protagonista sufre durante seis años. Si ello ha de referirse a Lope, nos llevaría a 1593-1594; pero esto choca con la fecha asignada a la colección de romances de que tratamos. Son datos, por otra parte, que no ofrecen mayor seguridad. Los que trae Durán, en el *Catálogo* citado, han sido rectificados alguna vez (Fernando Wolf, *Historia de las literaturas castellana y portuguesa*, trad. cast. de los *Studien* por el Sr. Unamuno, Madrid, sin a., II, 52), y son bastante imprecisos. Hasta que no se aclare del todo esa embrollada bibliografía, no serán posibles trabajos como los que aquí tímidamente avanzo.

¿ 1589 ?

4 tripl. Flor (Primera y Segunda Parte de la) de Romances &, recopilada por el bachiller Pedro de Moncayo (Durán, *Catálogo de documentos*, en *B. A. E.*, XVI, 683). De los datos que trae Durán, parece que puede fecharse hacia 1589.

Contiene los mismos romances reseñados en nuestro número 162, que están en *O. S.*, XVII (« Amada pastora mía »; « Por las riberas famosas »; « Sentado en la seca yerba »; « De ver una escura cueva »; « El tronco de ovas vestido »); 180 tripl. (« Por los jardines de Chipre »); y además el que comienza : « Sale la estrella de Venus » (vid. el número 6 de los presentes *Apuntes*).

1591

5. Espinel (Vicente). *Diversas rimas.* Madrid, 1591. Soneto de Lope (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, I, núm. 533, p. 181-182). El soneto :

Florido espino, que al laurel mas verde,

está en *O. S.*, XVII, 257.

1592

5 bis. Flor (Cuarta y Quinta Parte) de Romances, recopilados por Sebastián Vélez de Guevara, racionero de la Colegial de Santander. Burgos, Alonso y Esteban Rodríguez, 1592 (Durán, *Catálogo de documentos*, en *B. A. E.*, XVI, 683; Foulché-Delbosc, *Bibliografía*, en *Obras de Góngora*, III, 112-113).

Esta colección contiene, según Durán, los romances reseñados en nuestros números : 162, *O. S.*, XVII (« Cuando entendí que tenía »; « Mirando estaba Lisardo »; « Hería el sol a las cumbres »; « Apolo con su laurel »); y 182 *e* (« Apártaste, ingrata Filis »).

1593-1594

5 tripl. Romancerillos de la Biblioteca Ambrosiana (vid. nuestro número 200). A dichos años corresponde la impresión de los pliegos sueltos que comprenden los romances de dichos *Romancerillos* que hemos citado, según puede comprobarse en el trabajo del Sr. Foulché-Delbosc allí aludido (págs. 510-522). El único romance (« De pechos sobre una torre ») que queda sin fechar, ha de haber sido impreso en fecha muy inmediata.

1595

6. PÉREZ DE HITA (GINÉS). *Historia de los bandos de los Zegríes.* Zaragoza, 1595 (Palau, *Manual*, VI, 85). Hay edición moderna, publicada por Paula Blanchard-Demouge, Madrid. Junta para ampliación de estudios, 1913, la cual reproduce el texto de la *princeps*. En la de *B. A. E.*, III, el texto ha sido modernizado.

Contiene esta obra, sin indicar autor, numerosos romances, entre los cuales son notoriamente de Lope los dos que comienzan :

Mira, Zaide, que te aviso;
Sale la estrella de Venus;

(vid. Tomillo y Pérez Pastor, *Proceso*, 103-105; y *B. A. E.*, III, 524 y 586, así como nuestros números 4 tripl., 182, 189, 196 y 200).

El primero de ellos (« Mira, Zaide... ») figura asimismo en cierto códice que data de 1592 (Apéndices al *Romancero* de Durán, en *B. A. E.*, XVI, 723; vid. también nuestro número 185), que lo atribuye a Salinas.

7. HENRÍQUEZ (ENRIQUE JORGE), médico del Duque de Alba. *Retrato del perfecto médico.* Salamanca, 1595. Contiene dos sonetos de Lope, descubiertos y publicados por el Sr. Restori (*op. cit.* en el número 4, pág. 9; vid. también La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 69) :

Describe Tulio un orador discreto;
Traspuesta planta al castellano suelo.

Sobre el tal médico véase Cejador, *Historia*, III, 330. Podría ser que hubiese algunas otra poesía de Lope en una obra del mismo autor : *De regimine cibi &*, Salamanca, 1594.

7 bis. CASO HORRIBLE Y ESPANTOSO SUCEDIDO A VEINTE Y UN DÍAS DEL MES DE MARZO 1595, POR BENITO CARRASCO,

BARCELONA, 1595, CON UN ROMANCE NUEVO DE LOPE DE VEGA. El romance que se atribuye a Lope en este pliego suelto es el que comienza :

Gallardo en armas y trajes

(en *B. A. E.*, X, núm. 93, como anónimo y procedente del *Romancero general*). Véase Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, 66.

1594-1598

7 tripl. ROMANCERILLOS DE PISA (vid. nuestro número 209). Las fechas de impresión de los *Romancerillos* donde se contienen los romances mencionados en nuestro número 209 ya citado, corresponden a los años 1594-1598, según los datos que expone M. R. Foulché-Delbosc (*R. H.*, LXV, *Los Romancerillos de Pisa*, preliminares). Se exceptúa el romance núm. 83, que no lleva fecha, pero que ha de corresponder a una muy inmediata.

1596

8. MENA (PEDRO DE). *Crónica del nacimiento &*. Madrid, 1596. Dos sonetos de Lope, uno en alabanza de San Francisco de Paula y el otro en loor del autor (Pérez Pastor, *B M.*, I, núm. 515).

1598

9. VEGA (LOPE DE). *La Arcadia*. Madrid, 1598. Pérez Pastor (*B. M.*, I, núm. 613) cree que no ha existido tal edición, y que la *princeps* es de Madrid, 1599; pero La Barrera, que en su *Nueva biografía*, 593, parece no conocer la edición de 1598, alude a ella en la página 544, y Rennert y Castro (*Vida*, 93) atestiguan que hay ejemplar de la edición de 1598, en Boston, en la Biblioteca de Ticknor.

La Arcadia fué escrita sin duda por Lope durante su ser-

vicio en Alba con el Duque D. Antonio, y desde luego antes de 1594. En la dedicatoria al tercer Duque de Osuna, dice que había pensado dedicarla « al Duque, que Dios tiene », o sea al segundo Duque de Osuna, fallecido el 25 de noviembre de 1594 (Rodríguez Marín, *Luís Barahona de Soto*, Madrid, 1903, páginas 108, 212 y 215). Vid. nuestros *Estudios de Literatura Española*, La Plata, 1928, pág. 110, así como La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 65-70, y Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, 88-95.

Está en *O. S.*, VI.

10. Vega (Lope de). *La Dragontea*. Valencia, 1598. Se ha creído en una primera edición de Madrid, 1598, pero se trata de una confusión (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, I, núm. 614; La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 593, y 71-74; Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, 132-135).

Figura en *O. S.*, III, 165-373.

11. Barros (Alonso de). *Proverbios morales*. Madrid, 1598. Seis redondillas de Lope al autor (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, I, núm. 564).

Están en *O. S.* (XVII, 283) y también en *B. A. E.*, XLII, 231. Comienzan :

Este libro es un diamante.

12. Pérez de Herrera (Doctor Cristóbal). *Discursos del amparo de los legítimos pobres &*. Madrid, 1598.

En *O. S.* se copian tres sonetos :

No es este el don que al labrador robusto (XVII, 275),
El cristiano valor que habeis mostrado (XVII, 276),
¿ Que así acertase Herrera a quién no espanta ? (XXI, 170).

procedentes de este libro. Véase Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, I, núm. 592; y Salvá, *Catálogo*, núm. 2122.

12 bis. Silva de varios romances. Valencia, 1598, descrita por Teza, *Studj di Filologia romanza*, segundo fascí-

culo, Roma, *Loescher*, 1884, y aludida por el Sr. Montesinos (artículo a que se refiere nuestro número 220, páginas 155-156 del mismo).

La *Silva* contiene el romance : « Segunda vez desterrado « (vid. el número 211 de los presentes *Apuntes*).

1599

13. Vega (Lope de). *El Isidro*. Madrid, 1599 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, I, núm. 664).

En *O. S.*, XI, págs. XIII-XXX y 1-336.

14. Vega (Lope de). *Fiestas de Denia*. Valencia, 1599. Esta edición *princeps* se contrahizo, según se dice, en el siglo XVIII, por el Conde de Saceda (vid. Castro (Américo), *Alusiones a Micaela de Luján*, en *R. F. E.*, V, 1918, 259; *O. S.*, III, pág. 111; Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, 143 y 537; Alenda y Mira, *Relaciones*, núms. 411-413; y Juliá Martínez, *Una nota bibliográfica &*, en *R. F. E.*, 1919, 186-190; vid. también nuestro número 195 bis).

En *O. S.*, III, 375-429.

15. Vega (Lope de). *Romance a las venturosas bodas &* Valencia, 1599 (vid. Salvá, *Catálogo*, núm. 147).

Comprende, además del romance :

A las bodas venturosas,

en el cual celebra las de Felipe III, un soneto dirigido a este rey :

Hombre soy como eres : no te espantes,

y un romance en « fabla » sobre la cobardía de los yernos del Cid :

Tirad, fidalgos, tirad.

Esta última composición salió también en el *Romancero*

general (vid. nuestros números 19 bis y 27). Las tres figuran en *O. S.*, XVII, 387, 396 y 472.

Por el asunto, el lenguaje, y también por alguna alusión a Valencia, el romance : « Tirad...& » — que admitimos como obra de Lope — podría relacionarse con otro también atribuido a él, pero de procedencia muy sospechosa :

En la hora postrimera,

(en *O. S.*, III, 458, vid. nuestro número 160) y constituiría un ligero indicio de la posible autenticidad de éste.

16. Herrera Temiño (Juan Antonio de), hijo del Dr. Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, a que se refiere el número 12. *Lusus pueritiae*, Madrid, 1599. Contiene un soneto de Lope :

La verde yedra al olmo antiguo asida.

Descubierto por M. Gillet, da razón de él el Sr. Restori (*op. cit.*, 5) y lo copia. Vid. nuestros números 184 y 205.

17. Rocamora y Torrano (D. Ginés de). *Sphera del Universo*. Madrid, 1599. Incluye un soneto de Lope :

Protógenes después de conocida,

(Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, I, núm. 647).

En *O. S.*, XVII, 397.

18. Rodríguez (Lucas) « escriptor de la Universidad de Alcalá de Henares ». *Conceptos de divina poesía &*. Alcalá de Henares, 1599. Soneto de Lope (Juan Catalina García, *Ensayo de una tipografía complutense*. Madrid, 1899, número 739).

19. Saavedra Guzmán (D. Antonio de). *El Peregrino Indiano*. Madrid, 1599. Soneto de Lope (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.* I, núm. 648). El soneto :

Un gran Cortés y un grande cortesano,

figura en *O. S.*, XVII, 262.

1600

19 bis. ROMANCERO GENERAL, EN QUE SE CONTIENEN TODOS LOS ROMANCES QUE ANDAN IMPRESOS EN LAS NUEVE PARTES DE ROMANCEROS. Madrid, Luís Sánchez, 1600. Véase Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, I, núm. 575, y Palau, *Manual*, VI, 332. Véase también nuestro número 27.

No es posible distinguir, mediante los datos que trae Durán en los Apéndices de su *Romancero* (*B. A. E.*, X y XVI), entre el contenido de esta edición y el de las sucesivas de 1604 y 1614. Por eso nos vemos forzados a referirnos indistintamente a todas ellas.

Terminada ya casi por completo la redacción del presente trabajo, y por la cortesía de las autoridades universitarias de La Plata, hemos podido tener a la vista la reproducción facsimilar, hecha por Mr. Huntington, New York, *Hispanic Society*, 1904, del *Romancero* de 1600. Reciban nuestros amigos los Drs. D. Ricardo Levene y D. Carlos Heras la expresión de nuestra cordial gratitud.

1601

20. LASSO DE LA VEGA (GABRIEL). *Elogios en loor de los tres famosos varones don Jaime de Aragón, don Fernando Cortés, marqués del Valle, y don Alvaro de Bazán, marqués de Santa Cruz.* Zaragoza, 1601. Contiene versos de Lope (Salvá, *Catálogo*, núm. 266; véase también Palau, *Manual*, IV, 191). Téngase en cuenta que el soneto de nuestro número 19 menciona a Cortés.

21. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Aquí se contienen cuatro romances &.* Madrid, 1601. Comienzan : « Vuestro Madrid, vuestra corte »; « Altas y encumbradas torres »; « Lunes era, un triste día »; « Algo enfadada, replica » (vid. La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 99-101, que copia íntegro el segundo). Rennert y Castro,

Vida, 533, juzgan que dichos romances « son vulgarísimos y no deben atribuirse a Lope sin una prueba concluyente ».

22. PINELO (DOÑA VALENTINA), monja profesa en el monasterio de San Leandro de Sevilla. *Libro de las alabanzas y excelencias de la gloriosa Santa Ana*. Sevilla, 1601. Dos sonetos de Lope (Serrano y Sanz, *Apuntes para una biblioteca de escritoras españolas*, II, 132).

1602

23. VEGA (LOPE DE). *La hermosura de Angélica, con otras diversas rimas*. Madrid, 1602 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 826).

Contiene este libro tres partes :

1. *La hermosura de Angélica* (primera edición).

2. *Los doscientos sonetos*, juntamente con cierta epístola, titulada *Cuestión sobre el honor debido a la poesía*, dirigida a D. Juan de Arguijo (primera edición).

3. *La Dragontea* (aparecida ya en 1598 : véase el número 10 de los presentes *Apuntes*).

La colección de que tratamos tomó, en las ediciones sucesivas, muy diversas formas. Procuraremos aclarar, lo mejor que nos sea posible, este verdadero laberinto bibliográfico :

a) *Rimas*. Sevilla, 1604 (vid. Restori, en la *Zeits. für roman. Philol.*, XXII, 99-102 ; y en la revista *La Rassegna*, Florencia, sept.-oct. de 1922, p. 212). Contiene : *Los doscientos sonetos* (que forman la parte I de la edición), y las *Rimas* a que se refiere nuestro número 24 (parte II).

b) *La hermosura de Angélica &*. Madrid, 1605 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 929). Contiene : *La hermosura de Angélica* (I), y *La Dragontea* (II).

c) *Rimas*. Lisboa, 1605 (La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 599-600). Contiene : *Los doscientos sonetos* (I), y las *Rimas*

a que se refiere nuestro número 24 (II). Por cierto que echo de menos en *O. S.* el soneto dedicado por Lope a Antonio Ortiz que según La Barrera existe en dicha parte II.

d) *Rimas*, Lisboa, 1605 (edición apócrifa; vid. La Barrera, *op. cit.*, 600). Contiene : las *Rimas* a que se refiere nuestro número 24 y además el *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*, que no se publicó en realidad hasta 1609 (vid. nuestro número 36).

e) *Rimas*, Madrid, 1609 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, número 1074; edición reproducida en facsímil por Mr. Huntington). Contiene : *Los doscientos sonetos*, las *Rimas* a que se refiere nuestro número 24, y el *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* (primera edición de éste). Vid. nuestro número 36.

En *O. S.*, figura *La hermosura de Angélica* (tomo II, págs. XI-XXII y 1-370), así como *Los doscientos sonetos* (tomo IV, págs. XI-XII y 163-290). La *Cuestión sobre el honor debido a la poesía* se incluye en el mismo tomo (págs. 513-522).

Acerca de cierto pasaje de *La hermosura de Angélica* véase nuestro número 54.

La hermosura de Angélica fué planeada y escrita con mucha anterioridad a su publicación. « La escribí — dice Lope — sobre las aguas, entre jarcias del galeón *Sant Juan* y las banderas del Rey Católico », mientras tomaba parte en la desgraciada expedición de la Invencible (1588). Dedúcese de ciertas palabras de Lope, en el prólogo (*O. S.*, II, pág. XII), que la obra quedó completamente terminada durante la expedición. En la dedicatoria indica el poeta que pensó dirigirla al Príncipe, después Felipe III, « cuando en sus tiernos años se comenzó a ejercitar en la lectura de algunos libros », es decir en un periodo comprendido entre 1588 y 1593. En octubre de 1598, apenas inaugurado el nuevo reinado, sabemos que trató de publicarla, pues Pérez Pastor (*Proceso*, 253) ha exhumado cierto poder que el poeta confirió a un « licenciado Pedro Vázquez de Castro, abogado e impresor », para solicitar la licencia y privilegio correspondientes. Esta

edición quedó frustrada, sin que sepamos porqué, y la obra no llegó a publicarse hasta 1602. Pero indudablemente no fué publicada tal como había sido escrita, puesto que alude a sucesos bastante posteriores a 1588 (véanse nuestros *Estudios de literatura española*. La Plata, 1928, págs. 281-282).

1603

23 bis. AMENDÁRIZ (JULIÁN DE). *Patrón salmantino*. Salamanca, 1603. Quintillas de Lope de Vega (Gallardo, *Ensayo*, I, columna 303; vid. La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 122).

1604

24. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Rimas*, Sevilla, 1604 (vid. nuestro número 23 *a*, y también Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, 155-156). Contiene *Los doscientos sonetos* (publicados ya en 1602) y, como segunda parte, varias composiciones (diálogos, églogas, epístolas, epitafios, sonetos &), que figuran en *O. S.*, IV, 291, 402, y que se publicaron en esta ocasión por primera vez.

Uno de los epitafios a que acabamos de aludir (« En este rojo metal »; *O. S.*, IV, 393; *B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, 235; *Rimas*, Madrid, 1609, folio 192 vuelo) está dedicado a la reina Isabel de Valois, esposa de Felipe II, a la que está también dedicado otro epitafio precedente (« Aquí yace aquella paz »; *O. S.*, IV., 391; *B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, 235). Como el primeramente citado alude a un hijo que dejaba la reina, llamado Felipe, venimos en conocimiento de que se trata de un error que viene perpetuándose desde las primeras ediciones. El epitafio : « En este rojo metal », está dedicado en realidad a la reina Ana, madre de Felipe III.

25. ALEMÁN (MATEO). *Vida de San Antonio de Padua*. Sevilla, 1604 (Escudero y Perosso, *Tipografía hispalense*, núm. 893; y Palau, *Manual*, I, 43). Canción de Lope, la cual está en *O. S.*, XVII, 227-230 (« Historiador sagrado »),

aunque allí se dice que procede de una edición (Sevilla, 1605) no descrita por dicho Sr. Escudero.

26. VEGA (LOPE DE). *El Peregrino en su patria.* Sevilla, 1604 (Escudero y Perosso, *Tipografía hispalense,* núm. 885). Figura en *O. S.*, V, págs. V-XXXII, y 1-463. Están incluidas en esta novela algunas obras dramáticas de Lope.

27. ROMANCERO GENERAL, EN QUE SE CONTIENEN TODOS LOS ROMANCES QUE ANDAN IMPRESOS. AHORA NUEVAMENTE AÑADIDO Y EMENDADO. Madrid, Juan de la Cuesta, 1604. Esta edición contiene las nueve partes de las anteriores, con la adición de otras cuatro (Palau, *Manual,* VI, 332).

Como ya digimos anteriormente (véase nuestro núm. 19 bis) no siempre nos ha sido posible distinguir entre el contenido de la edición del *Romancero* de 1600 y el de las de 1604 y 1614. Nuestras referencias abarcan, pues, indistintamente estas tres ediciones.

Se contienen en el *Romancero,* entre otras poesías, las reseñadas en nuestros números 127 *bis,* 162 (*O. S.*, XVII, *c*) y 182 *a.*

Entre el contenido del *Romancero general* se distinguen por un interés especial para el objeto que nos proponemos en el presente trabajo, dos romances :

> Oidme, señor Belardo, — oid y escuchad un poco;
> Toquen aprisa a rebato — las campanas de Baeza,

(en *B. A. E.*, X, núms. 247 y 250), los cuales, publicados anónimamente, son obra de alguien que no quería nada bien a Lope. Revisten para nosotros un extraordinario interés, porque pueden servir para determinar parte de la inmensa contribución que dió Lope al *Romancero,* y que, manirroto del ingenio, nunca se cuidó de reivindicar. Ya que no nos sea posible salvar del anonimato tanto romance excelente, en donde sospechamos ver la mano del gran poeta, por lo menos tratemos de devolver a su dueño estas poesías,

señaladas con intención satírica por un osado contradictor. ¿ Será necesario advertir que hacemos estas atribuciones a título meramente conjetural ? No sabemos hasta qué punto el autor (o autores) de estos dos romances pudo estar bien enterado, y tampoco parece difícil que mezclase en su enumeración romances de Lope con otros de autores distintos. Como quiera que sea, juzgamos que media bastante probabilidad para atribuir a Lope todos los romances que aquí mencionamos.

Según el romance número 250, pertenecen a Lope los siguientes romances (se indica a continuación de ellos, entre paréntesis, el *número* (n.) que llevan en el *Romancero* de Durán, *B. A. E.*, X y XVI, o la *página* (p.) del tomo XXXVIII de la *B. A. E.*, en donde se encuentran) :

1 — « Con dos mil ginetes moros — Reduán corre la tierra » (n. 105).
2 — « Azarque indignado y fiero — su fuerte brazo arremanga » (n. 198).
3 — « Ensíllenme el potro rucio — del Alcaide de los Vélez » (n. 22).
4 — « Avisaron a los reyes — que ya las nueve eran dadas » (n. 209).
5 — « Afuera, afuera — aparta, aparta » (n. 88).
6 — « Desesperado camina — ese moro de Villalba » (n. 29).
7 — « En el más soberbio monte — que en los cristales del Tajo » (n. 13).
8 — « Al camino de Toledo — a donde dejó empeñada » (n. 140).
9 — « De pechos sobre una torre — que la mar combate y cerca » (p. 253).
10 — « Sale la estrella de Venus — a tiempo que el Sol se pone » (n. 33).
11 — « Ahora vuelvo a templaros — desacordado instrumento » (una versión distinta, del mismo romance, comienza : « Otra vez vuelvo... ») (p. 262).
12 — « Mil años ha que no canto — porque ha mil años que lloro » (p. 251).

El otro romance, núm. 247, alude también explícitamente

a otros, como obra de Lope. Cuando hayan sido ya mencionados, al tratar del romance núm. 250, omitiremos el número del margen :

Mil años ha que no canto.
Sale la estrella de Venus.

Se alude también a cierto *testamento* de Belardo, que puede ser cualquiera de los dos romances :

13 — « De una recia calentura — de un amoroso accidente » (p. 250)
14 — « Después que acabó Belardo — de distribuir sus bienes » (p. 252).

así como también a un pretendido *codicilo* de Belardo :

15 — « Hería el sol a las cumbres — de los más altos collados » (n. 1493).

el cual fué desconocido formalmente por el poeta en el romance : « Mil años ha que no canto » (p. 251).

Otras alusiones se refieren al dicho romance : « Mil años ha que no canto », y a otros dos que se hallan mencionados en este último :

16 — « El tronco de ovas vestido — de un álamo verde y blanco » (n. 1490).
17 — « Regalando el tierno vello — de la boca de Medoro » (n. 410).

Por fin, encierra también este romance una enumeración sumamente interesante de los temas poéticos tratados con predilección en sus romances por Belardo-Lope, a saber : Adulce (véase *B. A. E.*, X, romances núms. 136-140); Bravonel (id. 208-214); Maniloro (id., 190-191); Azarque (el de Ocaña, id., 192-200; el de Granada, id., 22-28); Muza (id., 86-104); y Reduán (el joven, id., 195-199; el viejo, id., 221-222).

Si examinamos uno a uno todos los romances que acabamos de mencionar, esta enumeración de temas tratados por Lope se agranda. Así vemos que el núm. 1 corresponde al de REDUÁN, el 2 al de AZARQUE DE OCAÑA-CELINDAJA, el 3 al de AZARQUE DE GRANADA-ADALIFA, el 4 al de BRAVONEL-GUADALARA, el 5 al de MUZA, y el 8 al de ADULCE-ZAIDA : temas todos precedentemente mencionados; pero en cambio no están mencionados los temas de GAZUL-ZAIDA (núms. 6 y 10), ABENÁMAR (id., 7), BELISA (id., 9), BELARDO-FILIS (id., 12 a 16), y ANGÉLICA-MEDORO (id., 17).

No podemos por ahora entrar en el e studio detenido de cada uno de los romances comprendidos en dichos temas, para determinar cuáles, además de los ya recordados, pueden pertenecer a Lope. Acaso lo haremos en otra mejor ocasión. Baste con advertir que entre los romances de ADULCE están ya atribuidos a Lope los que en el *Romancero* de la *B. A. E.*, llevan los números 139 y 140 (« En la prisión está Adulce »; « Al camino de Toledo »), y probablemente son suyos los números 137 y 138 (« Aquel moro enamorado », y « La noche estaba esperando; el último parece aludir al destierro del poeta). De los de BRAVONEL, es de Lope el núm. 209 (« Avisaron a los reyes »), y nos inclinamos a atribuirle los números 208, 210 y 211 (« Bravonel de Zaragoza / al rey Marsilio demanda »; « Después que en el martes triste »; y « Alojó su compañía »). Sobre los romances de Azarque, recuérdese que Liñán usó también de este tema (vid. el núm. 4 bis de los presentes *Apuntes*). Sabemos que hay dos Azarques : el de Ocaña y el de Granada. Al primero corresponde el núm. 198, que sabemos que es de Lope (« Azarque, indignado y fiero »), y el núm. 197 (« Azarque vive en Ocaña »), que presumimos le pertenece. El núm. 194 parece que es de Liñán. De los del granadino, el número 22 ya dijimos que es de Lope (« Ensíllenme el potro rucio »), y los números 25 y 26 (« Arrancando los cabellos »; « Bien te acuerdas, fácil mora ») podrían ser

suyos. En cuanto a MUZA, los núms. 88 y 93 (« Afuera, afuera, aparta, aparta »; « Gallardo en armas y trajes ») son, y los núms. 87, 91, 95 y 99 (« Desterró al moro Muza »; « Mira, Muza, que te aviso »; « Las riberas del Genil »; « A la orilla del Genil ») podrían ser del poeta. El número 105 (« Con dos mil ginetes moros »), de REDUÁN EL JOVEN, es también de Lope, y acaso lo sean los números 221 y 222 (« Desde un alto mirador »; « Rendido está Reduán »), de REDUÁN EL VIEJO. El primero de éstos (núm. 221) parece aludir a la corte ducal de Alba de Tormes, con la cual Lope estuvo tan relacionado mientras sirvió al duque don Antonio.

Téngase en cuenta que los romances, aludidos en los dichos romances números 247 y 250, que hemos señalado con los números 9, y 11 a 16, fueron publicados también como de Lope en el tomo XVII de las *O. S.* (véase el número 162 de los presentes *Apuntes*).

28. VIANA (ANTONIO DE). *Antigüedades de las Islas Afortunadas*. Sevilla, 1604. Soneto de Lope (Escudero y Perosso, *Tipografía hispalense*, núm. 886; Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, columna 1041).

1605

29. RELACIÓN DE LAS FIESTAS QUE LA IMPERIAL CIUDAD DE TOLEDO &. Madrid, 1605. Concurrieron varios poetas, entre ellos Lope de Vega : *De nato Principi* (exámetros latinos, con su traducción castellana, en octavas), y oración inaugural, en verso suelto. Y también « Lucinda serrana » (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 917; Restori, *Sonetti dimenticati*, p. 10-11; y La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 140).

Los *exámetros latinos* no sé que hayan vuelto a publicarse como tampoco la traducción castellana de los mismos. La oración inaugural parece ser una composición : « Al nacimiento del Príncipe » después Felipe IV : « El origen divino de las letras » (*O. S.*, IX, págs. VI-VII y 105 y ss.) que se

publicó después en *La Vega del Parnaso ;* y el soneto en nombre de Lucinda (comienza : « Si el águila, de Europa emperatriz »), que indudablemente es de Lope, ha sido copiado por el Sr. Restori (*Sonetti dimenticati,* 11).

Véase también Gallardo, *Ensayo,* I, columna 753.

30. Espinosa (Pedro). *Primera parte de las Flores de poetas ilustres de España.* Valladolid, 1605 (edición reproducida modernamente, Sevilla, 1896, bajo la dirección de los Sres. Quirós de los Ríos y Rodríguez Marín).

Contiene ocho poesías de Lope, de las cuales indicaremos al comienzo el número bajo el cual figuran en las *Flores,* y al final el tomo y página de las *O. S.* :

34 — « Hermosas plantas, fertiles de rosas » (XVII, 319).
35 — « Plantas sin fruto, fértiles de rosas » (XVII, 319).
51 — « Adiós, solteras de embelecos llenas (XVII, 320).
115 — « Pues que ya de mis versos y pasiones ».
131 — « Sentado en esta peña » (XVII, 321).
146 — « Con el tiempo el villano a la melena » (XVII, 323).
157 — « Dime, esperanza que los ojos velas » (XVII, 324).
185 — « Es la mujer del hombre lo más bueno » (IV, 285).

La composición núm. 34 (« Hermosas plantas... ») había sido ya incluida por Lope en « El ganso de oro ». Lo ha indicado así el Sr. Montesinos (vid. nuestro número 207 tripl.). Dicha comedia, que es anterior a 1604, ha permanecido inédita hasta 1916. Véase *Obras de Lope,* nueva edición de la Academia, I, 156.

Le número 35 (« Plantas sin fruto... ») ha sido omitida en el *índice general alfabético* de las *O. S.* Aunque con variantes de alguna importancia, resulta ser sustancialmente (según el Sr. Montesinos : vid. nuestro número 220) el mismo soneto que en la comedia de Lope ya referida (*Obras* citadas, I, 157) comienza : « Marchitas plantas, ramo, fruto y rosas ».

El Sr. Mele (vid. nuestro número 184) lo había dado por inédito.

El soneto núm. 51 (« Adiós, solteras... ») forma parte asimismo de la comedia « El Galán escarmentado » (*Obras* citadas, I, 135), según lo hicimos notar (vid. nuestro número 202) y recordó después el Sr. Montesinos (vid. nuestro núm. 207 tripl.). También esta comedia ha estado inédita hasta 1916.

Debemos advertir, con respecto a la composición núm. 115, que Lope, después de su publicación en las Flores, la modificó y la volvió a publicar en las *Rimas de Burguillos* (« Ia, pues, que todo el mundo mis pasiones » : vid. núm. 140) En *O. S.*, XIX, 162 figura la segunda redacción; la primera redacción no está en las *O. S.*; pero sí en *B. A. E.* (XLII, 21). Véase Cossío, *Lección de rigor por Lope de Vega* en *Revista de Occidente*, 1926, 130-134.

La composición número 185 había sido ya publicada en 1602, bajo el número CXCI de *Los doscientos sonetos* (*O. S.*, IV, 285), y había de serlo después por Gracián en su *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*, discurso 28 (vid. nuestro nº 154). El texto de las *Flores* y el publicado por Gracián (que muy probablemente procede de ellas) presenta en el segundo verso (« es la mujer del hombre lo más malo ») una lección superior a la publicada en 1602 (« y locura decir que lo más malo »). Esta última parece corrección, no de Lope, sino de algún impertinente y oficioso defensor del bello sexo, que destruyó con ello el paralelismo que reina en toda la composición. Véase nuestro número 154.

31. SEGUNDA PARTE DEL ROMANCERO GENERAL Y FLOR DE DIVERSAS POESÍAS, RECOPILADO POR MIGUEL DE MADRIGAL. Valladolid, Luís Sánchez, 1605 (Durán, *Catálogo*, en *B. A. E.*, XVI, 686; Palau, *Manual*, V, 14).

En esta colección aparecieron, según Durán, los romances reseñados en nuestro número 162 (*O. S.*, tomo XVII, números 98 y 99 de nuestra enumeración de estos Apuntes, al

dar cuenta del dicho tomo), así como el romance y tercetos de nuestro número 182, que no figuran en *O. S.* Procedentes también de la misma, se mencionan en el *Proceso* (vid. nuestro citado número 182), pág. 124, los primeros versos de ciertas epístolas cambiadas entre Lope de Vega (*Belardo*) :

Riselo, vive Dios que estoy mohino;

y su amigo Liñán de Riaza (*Riselo*) :

Con tu carta satírica, Belardo.

La epístola de Lope no figura en *O. S.*, y lo mismo que la de Liñán, no sé que haya sido reimpresa modernamente, como convendría.

1608

32. Balbuena (Doctor Bernardo de). *Siglo de Oro en las selvas de Erífile.* Madrid, 1608. Soneto de Lope (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 989). En la edición de la obra de Balbuena que hizo la Real Academia Española. Madrid, 1821, no se reprodujo el tal soneto.

33. Blosio (Ludovico). *Obras.* Madrid, 1608. Décima de Lope al Patriarca de las Indias, a quién está dedicado el libro (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 993).

34. Vélez de Guevara (Luís). *Elogio del juramento &.* Madrid, 1608. Versos de Lope (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1025). Véase Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, columna 1002.

1609

35. Vega (Lope de). *Jerusalén (sic) conquistada.* Madrid, 1609 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1073).

En *O. S.*, XIV (todo el tomo) y XV, 1-399.

36. Vega (Lope de). *Rimas... ahora de nuevo añadidas. Con el nuevo Arte de hacer comedias deste tiempo.* Madrid,

1609 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1074). Primera edición del *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* (vid. nuestro número 23 *e*, así como Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, 186). Libro reproducido en facsímil por Mr. Huntington, *Hispanic Society*.

El *Arte nuevo* está en *O. S.*, IV, 403-417.

37. Salas Barbadillo (Alonso Jerónimo de). *La Patrona de Madrid restituida*, Madrid, 1609. Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1071, al describir esta primera edición no menciona unas octavas de Lope :

> La estrella de Antiochía en breve ermita,

que sin embargo figuran en *O. S.*, XVII, 225, y que hubieron de aparecer en la primera edición, pues la obra no volvió a imprimirse hasta 1750 (Cejador, *Historia*, IV, 280; Palau, *Manual*, VI, 377).

38. Al Santísimo Sacramento en su fiesta. Justa poética que Lope de Vega Carpio y otros insignes poetas de la ciudad de Toledo y fuera del tuvieron en la parroquial de San Nicolás de la dicha ciudad, a 25 de junio de 1608 años &. Toledo, 1609 (vid. Américo Castro, *Datos para la vida de Lope. I. Una justa poética en Toledo*, apud *R. F. E.*, 1918, 398-403).

Revisten interés para la presente bibliografía cinco composiciones de este libro :

1 — « En tanto que a tus aras inmortales ».
2 — « Cuelgan racimos de ángeles, que enrizan ».
3 — « Si fuérades cortesano ».
4 — « Nicolás, pues sois vecino ».
5 — Un romance de « Clarinda Lisarda, serrana del Jordán », cuyo verso inicial desconozco.

Las composiciones números 1 y 2 fueron reproducidas por Lope en sus *Rimas sacras*, y tomadas de este libro figuran en *O. S.*, XIII, 330 y 202. Las composiciones números 3 y 4,

con procedencia de esta *Justa*, están en *O. S.*, XXI, 171-179. La número 4 fué presentada « en nombre de Hernando Gandío » (seudónimo de Lope). En cuanto a la número 5, recuerda — según el Sr. Castro — « el estilo y maestría de Lope », a quien muy probablemente pertenece. Valdría la pena de reproducirla.

1611

39. Vega (Lope de). *Forma breve de rezar, con los misterios de vida, pasión y glorificación de J. C.* Valencia, 1611 (vid. *O. S.*, XIII, folio VIII, preliminares).

En *O. S.*, XIII, 485-500.

40. Relación a la muerte y honras de la Reina N. S. (¿ Madrid, 1611 ?). Contiene una copla de Lope, que fué glosada por D. Antonio de Mendoza (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1154).

41. Rojas Villandrando (Agustín de). *El Buen República*. Salamanca, 1611 (Cejador, *Historia*, IV, 225). Una décima dedicada por Lope a este libro :

Buen República es aquel,

En *O. S.*, XVII, 264.

42. Hojeda (Fray Diego de). *La Cristíada*. Sevilla, 1611. Una composición de Lope :

Aunque de espinas tantas,

procedente de esta obra, figura en *O. S.*, XXI, 180. Escudero y Perosso, al describir dicha edición (*Tipografía hispalense*, 320) no menciona la composición de que tratamos; pero sí la menciona Gallardo, *Ensayo*, III, columnas 217-218.

1612

43. Chinchilla (Fray Alonso de). *Memorial de algunos efectos &*. Madrid, 1612. Soneto de Lope al Santísimo Sacramento (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, número 1171).

Hay una edición anterior (Madrid, 1611), descrita también por Pérez Pastor (*id.*, núm. 1131), y en la cual no figurará el tal soneto, puesto que no se le menciona.

44. Remírez de la Trapera (Albanio). *La Cruz*. Madrid, 1612. *Epigramma* latino de Lope (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1201). Está en *O. S.*, XVII, 245. Comienza : « Andreas excedens jam cruce pensilis alta. »

45. Suárez de Figueroa (el Doctor Cristóbal). *España defendida*. Madrid, 1612. Aprobación de Lope, fechada en Madrid, a 6 de abril de 1612 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1203).

46. Cuatro Soliloquios de Lope de Vega Carpio, llanto y lágrimas &. Salamanca, 1612; Valladolid, 1612.

De las dos ediciones del mismo año, la primera es la de Salamanca según Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, 209. Véase también Pérez Pastor, *Proceso*, 300-301, y Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, columna 969.

Los *Quatro Soliloquios* fueron incluidos por Lope en los *Soliloquios amorosos*, que publicó en 1626.

Están en *O. S.* (XIII, 471-484), señalándose (pág. viii) su procedencia de una edición impresa en Valencia, sin año.

47. Vega (Lope de). *Pastores de Belem*. Madrid, 1612 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1204; vid. H. Mérimée, apud *R. F. E.*, VI, 1919, 190-192, que describe otra edición desconocida; las de 1612 resultan ser tres : de Madrid, Lérida y Pamplona). Vid. nuestro número 148.

En *O. S.*, XVI, 1-473.

48. Vega (Lope de). *Fiestas a la traslación del Santísimo*

Sacramento a la Iglesia Mayor de Lerma. Valencia, en casa de Joseph Gasch, año de 1612.

Es una burda falsificación del siglo XVIII. El poema, en 233 octavas, que comienza :

El Sol escaso en luz, de Sagitario,

es obra de Francisco López de Zárate, a nombre del cual apareció entre las *Varias poesías*, Madrid, 1619, folios 31 a 70 : libro que lleva, por cierto, una aprobación de Lope de Vega. Las fiestas a que se refiere no se celebraron en realidad hasta cinco años más tarde : en 1617 (vid. Alenda y Mira, *Relaciones de solemnidades &*, núm. 683; y Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1606; así como nuestros números 70, 156 bis, 158, 159, 187 y otros).

48 bis. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Respuesta al señor don Sancho de Avila, obispo de Jaén, habiéndole enviado su libro de la Veneración de las reliquias.* ¿ Jaén, 1612 ?

La epístola de Lope salió después en las *Rimas sacras*, de 1614 (vid. nuestro número 53). Comienza :

Pastor que por los montes andaluces,

y puede verse en *O. S.*, XIII, 385-395. El libro de Avila había salido en 1611 (vid. La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 185-186).

1613

49. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Contemplativos discursos.* Madrid, 1613; Valencia, 1613 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1257; *O. S.*, XIII, pág. VIII; Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, columna 970).

Los discursos son dos, que comienzan :

Vos vengais muy en buen hora,
Vendido entre sus contrarios,

y pueden verse en *O. S.*, XIII, 455-470.

50. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Segunda parte del Desengaño del hombre, sobre la octava que dice : « Larga cuenta que dar de tiempo largo...& »*. Madrid, 1615; pero hay otra edición anterior, de Salamanca, 1613 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2257; Tomillo y Pérez Pastor, *Proceso*, 301; Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, columna 970).

Las composiciones de Lope son tres :

1. Una (¿ glosa ?) sobre la octava que dice :

Larga cuenta que dar de tiempo largo,

la cual comienza con este mismo verso.

2. Otra (¿ glosa ?) « que dice : « ¿ Yo para qué nací... ? », la cual comienza :

Aunque en culpa y error soy concebido,

3. Un « romance de Escarramán, vuelto a lo divino ». Pérez Pastor (*B. M.*, lugar citado) lo copia íntegramente, a diferencia de las otras dos composiciones, de las cuales sólo trae el primer verso de cada una. Comienza el romance ·

Ya está metido en prisiones, — Alma, Jesús tu galán.

La composición núm. 2 — que como digo desconozco — podría ser una glosa de la famosa octava que comienza :

¿ Yo para qué nací ? Para salvarme,

y termina :

¡ Loco debo de ser, pues no soy santo !

verso este último que Lope (*Laurel de Apolo*, silva VII, en *B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, 212) da por obra de fray Pedro de los Reyes. La célebre octava, con otra glosa anónima, puede verse en *B. A. E.*, XXXV, 306-307. Damián de Vegas alude también a ella, ¿ en 1590 ? (vid. Cejador, *Historia*, III, 298; y A. González Blanco, *Las mejores poesías místicas*,

Madrid, 1916, 37). Antonio Enríquez Gómez (*El siglo pitagórico*, transmigración IV, edición de Ruan, 1682, 45) glosa la octava también.

En cuanto al romance, contrahace « a lo divino » — según el extraño uso del tiempo — una poesía de carácter endiabladamente profano : nada menos que aquella famosa « jácara » de Quevedo, en la cual el jaque Escarramán comunica a su excelente amiga la Méndez, cómo le han metido en la « trena », o cárcel, y anda ya preparándose para habitar diez años en las galeras :

Ya está guardado en la trena — tu querido Escarramán.

(*Obras de Quevedo*, edic. de Bibliófilos Andaluces, II, 251; *B. A. E.*, LXIX, 97). Este romance, padre de una dilatada familia, y uno de los que más fama alcanzaron a su autor (*Cuentos recogidos por D. Juan de Arguijo*, apud Paz y Mélia, *Sales españolas*, II, 127) fué « vuelto a lo divino » alguna otra vez (Rodríguez Marín, edic. crít. de *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, de Cervantes, Madrid, 1920, 94). La jácara de Quevedo acababa de escribirse, pues Menéndez y Pelayo (*Obras de Quevedo*, edición que acabanos de citar, II, 251 y 399) la fecha en 1613. Véase tambien Menéndez y Pelayo, *Obras completas*, X, 96 y 97.

51. MEMORIAL, impreso, de Lope a Felipe III, pidiéndole que no permitiese le retratasen malos pintores. ¿ Madrid, 1613 ? Da razón de él Gil González Dávila (*Historia de la vida y hechos de... Felipe III*. Madrid, Ibarra, 1771, tomo III de la *Monarquía de España*, de Salazar de Mendoza, págs. 169 y 176). Hube de tratar del tal memorial en mi artículo *Miscelánea erudita* (apud *R. H.*, LXV). Las dudas que ya manifestaba entonces respecto de que hubiese existido nunca este impreso, se han acrecido después, al encontrar en un libro que es obra del propio Lope (*El Peregrino en su patria*, III, en *O. S.*, V, 290-291), y anterior a 1613, la misma anéc-

dota : « habiéndole algunos de su Cámara referido al rey [Felipe] Segundo que muchos pintores viles... osaban retratar su persona, con gran desautoridad suya, con alguna fealdad... respondió, con divina modestia : Dejadles que vivan, pues no retratan nuestras costumbres : palabra verdaderamente magnánima y digna de ponderación ». En todo caso, el tal memorial estaría perdido.

52. Pérez del Barrio Angulo (Gabriel). *Dirección de Secretarios &.* Madrid, 1613. Lope de Vega Carpio al lector (cuatro quintillas). Vid. Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1243.

Se hizo una segunda edición, en Madrid, 1622, bajo el título de *Secretario de Señores* (Pérez Pastor, *id.*, III, núm. 1875) de la cual al parecer proceden las quintillas :

Si a saber la ciencia aspiras,

que figuran en *O. S.*, XVII, 347. Están repetidas, acaso por haberse tomado también de la primera edición, en *O. S.*, XVII, 273.

1614

53. Vega (Lope de). *Rimas sacras. Primera Parte.* Madrid, 1614 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1310).

Está en *O. S.*, XIII, 163-439.

Treinta y un romances de esta colección pasaron al *Romancero espiritual*, de Lope (vid. *O. S.*, XV, 447; así como nuestro número 68).

La composición titulada *Revelaciones* (*O. S.*, XIII, 268-276), dirigida por Lope a fray Vicente Pellicer (¿ hijo natural suyo ?) volvió a ser publicada en Sevilla, 1621 (véase nuestro número 76).

Sobre una epistola de obispo de Jaén don Sancho de Avila, vid. nuestro número 48 bis.

54. Fernández de Avellaneda (Licenciado Alonso).

Segundo tomo del Ingenioso Hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha. Tarragona, 1614 (vid. Ángel del Arco, *La Imprenta en Tarragona*, 277).

Incluye (vid. págs. 85-86 de la edición de Barcelona, 1905, prologada por Menéndez y Pelayo) cierto *epigramma* (octava real latina) de Lope, dirigido a Felipe II. Comienza : « Philippo Regi, Caesari invictissimo », y con ligeras variantes, es igual a otro, dedicado a Felipe III, que Lope había publicado en *La hermosura de Angélica* (*O. S.*, II, 333). De los complicados y curiosísimos problemas que suscita la tal octava he tratado en un artículo (*Un epigrama latino de Lope de Vega*, apud *R. H.*, LI, 175-182) que acaba de reaparecer, muy aumentado, y bajo el título de *Una octava real latina de Lope, y el falso Avellaneda*, en mi libro *Estudios de literatura española*, de la *Biblioteca Humanidades* de la Universidad de la Plata, 1928 (Vid. nuestro número 200 tripl.).

55. Vascones (Fray Alonso de). *Destierro de ignorancias &.* Madrid, 1614. Poesía de Lope en estancias (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1308).

Pérez Pastor (lugar citado) copia íntegramente la poesía, que comienza :

A Dios pide el profeta,

la cual no está en *O. S.*; pero en cambio hay (*O. S.*, XVII, 253) una décima :

Si desterrar se merece,

dedicada por Lope al libro de que tratamos. Esta décima no está mencionada por Pérez Pastor. No se indica en *O. S.* de qué edición procede.

1615

56. Vega (Lope de). *Coloquio pastoril en alabanza de la*

limpia y pura Concepción... Lleva al cabo un romance en vizcaino. Madrid, 1615; Málaga, 1615.

Segundo coloquio de Lope de Vega entre un portugués y un castellano, un vizcaino, un estudiante y un mozo de mulas, en defensa y alabanza de la limpia Concepción. ¿ Madrid, 1615 ?; Málaga, 1615.

Texto reproducido por Menéndez y Pelayo (vid. *Obras completas*, X, 57), en su edición de las *Obras de Lope*. Se trata, pues, de obras dramáticas, salvo el romance, que no lo será.

Vid. Pérez Pastor. *B. M.*, II, núm. 1376; Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, columnas 970 y 971; Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, 333; Serrano y Sanz, *Apuntes* &, I, 213. El comienzo del romance, según Pérez Pastor, es :

Desta culpa original.

57. Cartel del certamen poético de la fiesta de Santa Teresa. Madrid, 1615.

Acaso sería redactado por Lope (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1322). Vid. nuestro número 59.

58. *Conceptos divinos al Santísimo Sacramento y a la Virgen Nuestra Señora, prosiguiendo los Coloquios de Lope de Vega.* Sevilla, 1615 (Escudero y Perosso, *Tipografía hispalense*, núm. 1015). El índice de la *Tipografía* pone esta obra a nombre de Lope pero no es suya (vid. Menéndez Pelayo, *Estudios sobre el teatro de Lope* en *Obras completas*, X, p. 117) sino continuación ajena de la que hemos señalado con el número 56.

59. San José (Fray Diego de). *Compendio de las solenes fiestas... en la beatificación de N. B. M. Teresa de Jesús.* Madrid, 1615. Lope figura entre los poetas que tomaron parte en las fiestas (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1365). En *O. S.*, XVII, 231-244, hay una composición en verso,

titulada *Oración o discurso*, procedente de esta obra, la cual comienza :

Platón muriendo (oh noble, heróico, ilustre).

Vid. nuestro número 57.

60. VERDUGO DE LA CUEVA (PABLO). *Vida... de la B. M. Teresa de Jesús.* Madrid, 1615. Carta de Lope al autor (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1379), sin fecha, pero redactada después de la ordenación de Lope. Ha de datar, como los demás preliminares de la obra, de últimos de 1614, o primeros de 1615.

Figura en *O. S.*, XVII, 267.

1616

61. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Alabanzas al glorioso San Josef &.* Málaga, 1616 (Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, 533-534). Contiene tres romances : el primero al nacimiento del niño Jesús; el segundo, vuelto a lo divino, del que empieza : « Caballero, si a Francia ides »; el tercero de Cristo buscando al alma.

62. YAGÜE DE SALAS (JUAN). *Los amantes de Teruel.* Valencia, 1616. « Sonetos (*sic*) de Lope de Vega » & (Domingo Gascón, *Los Amantes de Teruel.* Madrid, 1908, 67-72). Creo que hay una errata, y que debió imprimirse : « Sonetos de ». Los sonetos son, según el Sr. Gascón, quince, y se mencionan otros tantos autores.

En *O. S.*, XVII, 256, figura un solo soneto :

De la flecha de amor murió Marcilla.

1617

63. MEDINILLA (BALTASAR ELISIO DE). *Limpia Concepción de la Virgen Nuestra Señora.* Madrid, 1617. Prólogo de Lope al Conde de Mora D. Francisco de Rojas y Guzmán (Pérez

Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1476; vid. Gallardo, *Ensayo*, III, columnas 692 y 699). Al dar razón de otra edición de 1618, menciona Pérez Pastor (*id.*, núm. 1553), además del prologo, unas décimas, también de Lope; pero resulta de un artículo del Sr. Restori (*¿ Un autoplagio di L. de V. ?* en *Atti della Società Ligustica*. Pavía, 1925, 268-269) que las décimas salieron juntamente con el prólogo en la primera edición de 1617.

Prólogo y décimas (« Lector, no hay sílaba aquí ») están en *O. S.*, XXI, 181-185.

Vid. nuestros números 120 y 178 bis.

64. Cortés de Tolosa (Juan). *Discursos morales de cartas y novelas*. Zaragoza, 1617 (Cejador, *Historia*, IV, 356; Palau, *Manual*, II, 315). Un epigrama latino de Lope, procedente de este libro se hallará en *O. S.*, XVII, 245 : « Divitiis animi florens Cortensius auctor. »

64 bis. Bonilla (Alonso de). *Nuevo jardín de flores divinas*. Baeza, 1617. Aprobación de Lope : Madrid, 6 de noviembre de 1616 (Gallardo, *Ensayo*, II, columnas 109-110).

64 tripl. Vega (Lope de). *Doce comedias*. Madrid, 1617 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1513). Contiene esta colección dramática una dedicatoria de Lope al Duque de Sessa, y un Prólogo, también de Lope (este último extractado por Pérez Pastor), a los cuales damos cabida en los presentes Apuntes por las razones que ya tenemos expuestas (advertencia *h*).

1618

65. Vega (Lope de). *Triunfo de la Fé en los reinos del Japón*. Madrid, 1618 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1579).

En *O. S.*, XVII, 95-204.

66. Chen (Licenciado Juan de). *Laberinto amoroso de los mejores y más nuevos romances &*. Barcelona, 1618. Reimpresión moderna, por Karl Vollmöller, en *Romanische*

Forschungen. Erlangen, 1891. Vid. : Cejador, *Historia*, IV, 361; Palau, *Manual*, IV, 163.

Las composiciones atribuidas a Lope, que proceden del *Laberinto*, donde salieron anónimas, son tres :

En el campo florido,
Al humilde Manzanares,
Segunda vez desterrado.

La primera está escrita en estancias; las otras dos son romances.

Ya Vollmöller en 1891 (vid. nuestro número 180) apuntó la posibilidad de que las estancias fuesen de Lope; nosotros, en 1922 (vid. nuestro número 202) señalamos en el *Romancero de Barcelona* otra versión de ellas :

En un campo florido,

suponiendo que quizá perteneciesen al gran poeta; y el Sr. Montesinos, por último, en 1925 (vid. nuestro número 211), atribuyó a Lope las tres composiciones.

Las estancias figuran en el *Ensayo* de Gallardo (I, columna 1201). Las tres poesías están copiadas integramente por el Sr. Montesinos.

67. Columbarius (Julius). *Expostulatio spongiae*. Tricassibus [Troyes de Francia] — [en realidad Madrid] — 1618. Un dístico latino de Lope (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1532).

67 bis. Vega (Lope de). *Décima parte de las comedias de...* Madrid, 1618 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1576, y III, núm. 1796).

Por las razones que ya expusimos al comenzar estos *Apuntes* (advertencia *h*), daremos aquí cabida a los siguientes escritos, procedentes de dicha colección dramática :

1. Décima « Del Maestro Colindres, gramático, retórico y filósofo, a Lope de Vega Carpio ». Comienza :

Lope, por haceros treta,

y se copia íntegramente por Pérez Pastor.

2. Dedicatoria de la colección, por su autor, al Marqués de Santa Cruz (no se copia).

3. Prólogo (extractado por Pérez Pastor).

Suponemos que « Maestro Colindres » es uno de los numerosos seudónimos de Lope. Sobre el curioso pormenor de la lucha entre éste y los discípulos de Góngora a que se alude, véase el comentario que hacemos en nuestro libro *Estudios de Literatura Española*. La Plata 1928, 204.

67 tripl. Vega (Lope de). *Décima parte de las comedias de...* Madrid, 1618 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1577).

Contiene :

1. Dedicatoria de Lope a D. Bernabé de Vivanco y Velasco, de la cual no sé que haya reproducción moderna.

2. « Prólogo del Teatro a los lectores » (en *B. A. E.*, LII, pág. xxi : vid. el núm. 175 tripl. de estos *Apuntes*).

1619

68. Vega (Lope de). *Romancero espiritual.* Salvá, basándose en las aprobaciones de este libro, cree en una primera edición de Pamplona, 1619; él vió otra, de Pamplona, 1624 (reproducida ahora en facsímil por Mr. Huntington, *Hispanic Society*), además de las de Zaragoza, 1622, Madrid, 1625 & (vid. Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, 306).

Treinta y un romances de esta colección habían sido ya publicados en 1614 (vid. nuestro número 53); y juntamente con otro (« Parad el niño bendito »; *O. S.*, XV, 449; el cual había salido ya en 1612 en los *Pastores de Belem* — vid. nuestro número 47 — y por eso se repite en *O. S.*, XVI, 468) forman un total de treinta y dos (no 42, como dice La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 391). Lo nuevamente publicado en el *Romancero espiritual* se limita, pues, a unas *Meditaciones de la via-crucis*. La *Letanía* y *oraciones* que siguen,

parecen no ser de Lope. Puede verse todo ello en *O. S.*, XV, 445-500.

No deja de parecer extraño que mencionándose en *O. S.* (XIV, pág. VI) la edición de 1622, la aprobación de Jáuregui esté fechada en 1625, y, lo mismo que la de Paravicino (*O. S.*, XV, 445-446) sean *iguales* en lo sustancial a las aprobaciones suscriptas por los mismos para los *Triunfos divinos*, que salieron en 1625 (vid. nuestro número 108).

69. CAMARGO (FRAY HERNANDO DE). *Muerte de Dios por vida del hombre.* Madrid, 1619. Décima de Lope (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1587).

Este fray Hernando de Camargo creo que es el mismo don Fernando de Salgado y Camargo a quién Lope dedicó en 1628 (vid. nuestro número 120, así como Cejador, *Historia*, V, 65) cuatro décimas, cuyo final acredita que se trata de un fraile agustino.

70. LÓPEZ DE ZÁRATE (FRANCISCO). *Varias poesías.* Madrid, 1619. Aprobación de Lope, fechada en Madrid, el 29 de noviembre de 1618 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1606; Gallardo *Ensayo*, III, columnas 528-530).

Algunas poesías de esta colección han sido después atribuidas a Lope (vid. nuestros números 48, 160 y otros).

70 bis. SEGURA (FRAY BARTOLOMÉ DE). *Amazona cristiana. Vida de la B. M. Teresa de Jesús.* Valladolid, 1619. Aprobación de Lope, sin fecha (los demás preliminares del libro están fechados en 1618-1619). Véase Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, 570.

70 tripl. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Duodécima parte de sus comedias.* Madrid, 1619 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1638).

Contiene :

1. Cuatro sextinas al Conde de la Puebla (no reproducidas modernamente).

2. « El Teatro » (prólogo) : en *B. A. E.*, LII, pág. XXII (vid. nuestro nº 175 tripl.).

1620

71. Vega (Lope de). *Justa poética y alabanzas justas &* (en las fiestas de la beatificación de San Isidro). Madrid, 1620 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1706).

En *O. S.*, XI, 339-616.

72. Bonet (Juan Pablo). *Reducción de las letras y arte para enseñar a hablar los mudos.* Madrid, 1620. Décimas de Lope (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1649).

En *O. S.*, XVII, 281 : « Los que más fama ganaron ».

73. Herrera Maldonado (Licenciado Don Francisco de). *Sanazaro español.* Madrid, 1620. Obra dedicada a Lope. Poesía de éste en loor de Herrera Maldonado (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1697; Gallardo, *Ensayo*, III, columnas 205-206).

73 bis. Vega (Lope de). *Décima tercia parte de sus comedias.* Madrid, 1620 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1704).

Entre el contenido de esta colección son interesantes para nuestro objeto :

El Prólogo (en B. *A. E.*, LII, pág. xxii : vid. núm. 175 tripl.) ; y además las dedicatorias de algunas comedias, que constituyen verdaderas epístolas en prosa, y encierran además buen número de detalles biográficos, o útiles para la historia literaria :

1 — « La Arcadia », a D. Gregorio López Madera.
2 — « El halcón de Federico », a Sebastián Jaime.
3 — « El remedio en la desdicha », a doña Marcela del Carpio, su hija.
4 — « Los esclavos libres », a D. Juan Antonio de Vera y Zúñiga.
5 — « El desconfiado », al maestro Alonso Sánchez.
6 — « El Cardenal de Belem », al Maestro Paravicino.
7 — « El Alcalde Mayor », al Dr. Cristóbal Núñez.
8 — « Los locos de Valencia », al Maestro Simón Xabelo.
9 — « Santiago el Verde », a Baltasar Elisio de Medinilla.

10 — « La Francesilla », al Licdo. Juan Pérez [de Montalbán].
11 — « El desposorio encubierto », al Licdo. Jacinto de Piña.
12 — « Los españoles en Flandes », a Cristóbal Ferreyra de Sampayo.

Todas esas dedicatorias han sido reproducidas modernamente, a saber :

En *B. A. E.*, XLI, núm. 1 (p. 155); 3, p. 133; 6, p. 589.

En *Obras de Lope*, edic. de la Academia: núm. 2 (tomo XIV); 12 (tomo XII).

En *Obras de Lope*, nueva edición de la Academia : núm. 4 (tomo V); 5 (tomo IV); 10 (tomo V); 11 (tomo IV).

En *B. A. E.*, LII : núm. 7 (p. 25).

En *B. A. E.*, XXIV : núm. 8 (p. 113).

En *B. A. E.*, XXXIV : núm. 9 (p. 191).

73 tripl. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Décima cuarta parte de sus comedias*. Madrid, 1620 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 1705).

Debemos señalar en esta parte :

El Prólogo : « El Teatro a los lectores » (en *B. A. E.*, LII, pág. XXIII-XXIV).

Y además las dedicatorias de las comedias siguientes :

1 — « Los amantes sin amor », a D. Pedro Fernández de Mansilla.
2 — « La Villana de Jetafe », a D. Francisco López de Aguilar.
3 — « La Gallarda Toledana », a Francisco Pacheco.
4 — « La corona merecida », a doña Ángela Vernegali.
5 — « La Viuda Valenciana », a la señora Marcia Leonarda (doña Marta de Nevares Santoyo).
6 — « El Caballero de Illescas », al maestro Vicente Espinel.
7 — « Pedro Carbonero », a D. Diego Félix de Quixada Riquelme.
8 — « El verdadero amante », a Lope de Vega el Mozo.
9 — « Las almenas de Toro », a D. Guillén de Castro.
10 — « El Bobo del Colegio », a D. Lorenzo Vander Hammen y León.
11 — « El Cuerdo Loco », a D. Tomás Tamayo de Vargas.
12 — « La ingratitud vengada », a D. Fernando Bermúdez y Carvajal.

De ellas, han sido reproducidas modernamente :

En *Obras de Lope*, nueva edición de la Academia : núm. 1 (tomo III); 6 (tomo IV); 11 (tomo IV).

En *B. A. E.*, XXIV, núm. 4 (p. 227); 5 (p. 67); 8 (p. 1); 10 (p. 179).

En *Obras de Lope*, edición de la Academia : núm. 7 (tomo XI); 9 (tomo VIII).

De los restantes tres números, el 3 ha sido extractado por Pérez Pastor, y los 2 y 12 no han sido reproducidos modernamente.

73 cuadrupl. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Catorce romances a la pasión de Cristo, N. S.* Cuenca, *Salvador Viader*, 1620, en 16º (Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*. Madrid, 1788, II, pág. 78 : vid. nuestro número 156 bis).

Ninguna otra indicación de Nicolás Antonio acerca del contenido de este libro. No he podido consultar al efecto *La imprenta en Cuenca*, por D. Fermín Caballero, Cuenca, 1869; segunda edición, Cuenca, 1881 (Foulché-Delbosc y Barrau-Dihigo, *Manuel de l'hispanisant*, I, núms. 169-170). Supongo que estos catorce romances han de ser algunos de los que, en número algo mayor (diez y ocho) salieron dedicados a la Pasión en 1614, en las *Rimas sacras* (vid. nuestro número 53), y de allí pasaron en 1619 al *Romancero espiritual* (*id.* 68). Están en *O. S.*, XV, 445-500.

1621

74. VEGA (LOPE DE). *La Filomena, con otras diversas rimas, prosas y versos*. Madrid, 1621 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 1803).

Contenido de este libro :

La Filomena (en *O. S.*, II, 373-467).
Las fortunas de Diana (*id.*, VIII, 1-67).

Descripción de la Tapada, insigne monte y recreación del Excmo. Sr. Duque de Berganza (*id.*, II, 471-493).

La Andrómeda (*id.*, II, 497-521).

Epístolas : a D. Francisco de la Cueva y Silva; al Dr. Gregorio de Angulo; a Baltasar Elisio de Medinilla; a D. Diego Félix de Quixada y Riquelme; al Conde de Lemos; de Amarilis (supuesta poetisa peruana) a Belardo; probablemente es del propio Lope; Belardo a Amarilis (contestación de Lope a la anterior); el Jardín de Lope de Vega, al licenciado Francisco de Rioja, en Sevilla; a D. Juan de Arguijo, veinticuatro de Sevilla; de Baltasar Elisio de Medinilla a Lope de Vega Carpio; de Lope en la muerte de Baltasar Elisio de Medinilla (*id.*, I, 410-517).

Poesías varias y epístolas acerca de la nueva poesía : Canción a Nuestra Señora de las Nieves, por el Marqués de Santa Cruz; Canción en las exequias de Zaragoza a Felipe III; Papel que escribió un Señor, destos reinos, a Lope de Vega Carpio, en razón de la nueva poesía; Respuesta de Lope al mismo; del mismo Señor a Lope de Vega; Respuesta de Lope; Égloga, de Pedro de Medina Medinilla en la muerte de doña Isabel de Urbina, dedicada al Duque de Alba don Antonio; En las bodas del Duque de Huéscar; A las obras de Francisco de Figueroa (véase acerca de esta poesía el número 113 de los presentes *Apuntes*); En la muerte de D. Jerónimo de Ayanza, el de las grandes fuerzas; dos sonetos y una canción dedicados a su amigo Juan de Piña; otros cuatro sonetos (*id.*, IV, 421-429, 459-482 y 430-458).

Hay en *La Filomena*, segunda parte (*O. S.*, II, 451-464; *B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, págs. XIII y 488-491), un pasaje sumamente interesante, en el cual Lope hace una enumeración de las principales obras que hasta entonces había publicado. El relato, aunque hecho en forma poética, y por lo tanto no siempre claro, no deja de ser aprovechable. Lope va mencionando sucesivamente : unas *Rimas*, que acaso son *Los doscientos sonetos* (vid. nuestro número 23); *La hermosura de Angélica* (id. 23); *La Arcadia* (id. 9); el *Isidro* (id. 13); *La Dragontea* (id. 10); *El Peregrino en su patria* (id. 26); *Pastores de Belem* (id. 47); *Rimas sacras* (id. 53); *Jerusalem conquistada* (id. 35); la misma *Filomena;* y por último el

Triunfo de la Fe en los reinos del Japón (id. 65). Casi todas estas obras se hallan, asimismo, citadas, en la dedicatoria de dicha segunda parte de *La Filomena* a doña Leonor Pimentel (vid. *O. S.*, II, 423-424).

75. Vega (Lope de). *Rimas.* Madrid, 1621. Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 1804, da noticia de una supuesta edición, así titulada; pero creo que se tratará en realidad de una confusión con *La Filomena, con otras diversas rimas* (núm. 74).

76. Vega (Lope de). *Revelaciones de algunas cosas dignas de ser notadas... Con unas quintillas al glorioso San Josef.* Sevilla, 1621.

Comprende la composición titulada *Revelaciones*, que había salido ya a luz en 1612 (véase nuestro número 53) y que figura, como ya dijimos, en *O. S.*, XIII, 268-276, además de ciertas quintillas (diez y ocho) a San José (vid. La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 609), que creo no están en *O. S.* Comienzan : « ¿ Qué se puede desear ? » (Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, columna 1565).

77. Herrera Maldonado (Licenciado Don Francisco de). *Epítome historial del reino de la China.* Madrid, 1621. Soneto de Lope (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 1774).

El soneto en *O. S.*, XVII, 258 : « Hizo Naturaleza con desvelo ».

78. Herrera Maldonado (Licenciado Don Francisco de). *Luciano español.* Madrid, 1621. Décima de Lope (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III. núm. 1748). La décima en *O. S.*, XVII, 280 : « Tomo de la antigüedad ».

79. Manuel (Diego). *Justa poética que hizo al Santísimo Sacramento en la villa de Cifuentes &.* Madrid, 1621. Censura de Lope : Madrid, 2 de septiembre de 1620 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 1752).

80. Téllez (Fray Gabriel) [Tirso de Molina]. *Cigarrales de Toledo.* Madrid, 1621. Décimas de Lope.

Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 1794, duda de la existencia

de esta edición, pero él mismo dice que el Marqués de Jerez de los Caballeros tenía ejemplar. Más recientemente, la edición de 1621 ha servido de base para la del Sr. Said Armesto (Madrid, *Renacimiento*, 1913).

Las décimas de Lope pueden verse en *O. S.*, XVII, 259, y en la edición de *Renacimiento*, pág. 11 : « Con menos dificil paso ».

81. Arias Pérez (Licenciado Pedro). *Primavera y flor de los mejores romances.* Madrid, 1621 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 1870). Acerca de la segunda parte de esta obra, vid. nuestro número 126 bis.

Contiene, como anónimos, dos romances de Lope :

« ¡ Ay verdades, que en amor ! » (*B. A. E.*, XVI, núm. 1557).
« Vengada la hermosa Filis » (*B. A. E.*, XVI, núm. 1558).

El primero procede de *Las fortunas de Diana*, novela publicada en este mismo año de 1621 (vid. nuestro número 74; así como *O. S.*, VIII, 24). Fué glosado después por Lope, en su comedia del mismo título (Cotarelo, en *Obras de Lope*, nueva edición, III, pág. xxii). El segundo se publicó en *Guzmán el Bravo* el año 1624 (*O. S.*, VIII, 188; vid. nuestro número 92). Ambos debían estar puestos en música. El último procederá, acaso, de alguna edición de la *Primavera*, posterior a 1624.

Figura también en esta colección, como anónimo, cierto romance :

Al valle de nuestra aldea — baja la hermosa Amarilis,

(vid. *B. A. E.*, XVI, núm. 1607) que el Sr. Montesinos (vid. el núm. 220 de los presentes *Apuntes*) ha reconocido como obra de Lope. Figura en la comedia : « ¿ De cuándo acá nos vino ? »

81 bis. Vega (Lope de). *Décima quinta parte de sus*

comedias. Madrid, 1621 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 1798).

Debemos señalar en esta colección dramática :

El prólogo : « El Teatro a los lectores » (en *B. A. E.*, LII, págs. XXIV-XXV); vid. el núm. 175 tripl. de estos *Apuntes*; y además las dedicatorias de las comedias siguientes :

1 — « La mal casada », a D. Francisco de la Cueva y Silva.
2 — « Querer la propia desdicha », a Claudio Conde.
3 — « La vengadora de las mujeres », a la Sra. Fenisa Camila.
4 — « El Caballero del Sacramento », a D. Luís Bravo de Acuña.
5 — « La Santa Liga », a Aparicio de Oribe.
6 — « El favor agradecido », a Pedro de Tapia.
7 — « La hermosa Esther », a doña Andrea de Castrillo.
8 — « El leal criado », a D. Francisco de Solís.
9 — « La buena guarda », a D. Juan de Arguijo.
10 — « Historia de Tobías », a doña María Puente Hurtado de Mendoza y Zúñiga.
11 — « El ingrato arrepentido », a D. Rodrigo de Tapia.
12 — « El Caballero del Milagro », a Pedro de Herrera.

De esas dedicatorias sé que hayan sido reproducidas modernamente las siguientes :

En *B. A. E.* : la núm. 1 (tomo XXXIV, 289); 2 (XXXIV, 269); 3 (XLI, 507); 9 (XLI, 325).

En *Obras de Lope*, edición de la Academia : núm. 4 (tomo VIII); 5 (XII); 7 (III); 10 (III).

En *Obras de Lope*, nueva edición de la Academia : núm. 6 (V); 12 (IV).

De los números 8 y 11 (extractado el último por Pérez Pastor) no conozco reproducciones modernas.

En la dedicatoria a D. Rodrigo de Tapia (núm. 11) hay cinco décimas desconocidas, dedicadas por Lope a este Sr. (Pérez Pastor, *loc. cit.*; La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 360).

81 tripl. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Décima sexta parte de sus comedias*. Madrid, 1621 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 1800).

Debemos señalar en esta colección :

El « Prólogo dialogístico » (en *B. A. E.*, LII, págs. XXV-XXVI) : vid. el núm. 175 tripl. de estos *Apuntes*.

Y además las dedicatorias de las comedias siguientes :

1 — « El premio de la hermosura », al Conde de Olivares.
2 — « Adonis y Venus », al Duque de Pastrana.
3 — « Los prados de León », al Duque de Huéscar.
4 — « Mirad a quién alabais », a doña María de Noroña.
5 — « Las mujeres sin hombres », a la Sra. Marcia Leonarda (doña Marta de Nevares Santoyo).
6 — « La fábula de Perseo », a Antonio Domingo de Bobadilla.
7 — « El laberinto de Creta », a la Sra. Tisbe Fénix.
8 — « La serrana de Tormes », al Conde de Cabra.
9 — « Las grandezas de Alejandro », al Duque de Alba.
10 — « La Felisarda », a D. Juan Antonio de Vera y Zuñiga.
11 — « La inocente Laura », a D. Diego Jiménez de Vargas.
12 — « Lo fingido verdadero », a fray Gabriel Téllez.

De esas dedicatorias todas (con excepción de la número 8) han sido reproducidas modernamente, a saber :

En *Obras de Lope*, edición de la Academia : núm. 1 (tomo XIII); 5 (VI); 6 (VI); 7 (VI); 9 (VI); 12 (IV).

En *B. A. E.* : núm. 2 (tomo LII, 417); 3 (LII, 434); 4 (LII, 455); 11 (LII, 475).

En *Obras de Lope*, nueva edición de la Academia : núm. 10 (tomo V)

81 cuadrupl. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Décima séptima parte de sus comedias*. Madrid, 1621 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 1801).

Señalaremos en esta *Parte* :

El Prólogo (en *B. A. E.*, LII, págs. XXII-XXIII) : vid. el nº 175 tripl., de estos *Apuntes*.

Y además las dedicatorias de las comedias que siguen :

1 — « Con su pan se lo coma », a doña Francisca Salvador.
2 — « Quién más no puede », a la Marquesa de Villazor.

3 — « El soldado amante », a doña Ana de Tapia.
4 — « Los muertos vivos », al Licdo. Salicio del Poyo.
5 — « El primer rey de Castilla », a D. Fernando de Ludeña.
6 — « El Dómine Lucas », a Juan de Piña.
7 — « Lucinda perseguida », a Manuel Sueyro.
8 — « El ruiseñor de Sevilla », al Licdo. D. Francisco Maldonado.
9 — « El Sol parado », a D. Andrés de Rozas.
10 — « La madre de la mejor », a fray Plácido de Tosantos.
11 — « Jorge Toledano », a Juan Pablo Bonet.
12 — « El hidalgo Abencerraje », a doña Ana de Piña.

De esas dedicatorias, las núms. 2 a 4, 7 y 11 no han sido reproducidas modernamente (Pérez Pastor extracta las núms. 4 y 11). Las demás sí lo han sido, en la forma que paso a detallar :

En *Obras de Lope*, nueva edición de la Academia : núm. 1 (tomo IV).

En *Obras de Lope*, edición de la Academia : núm. 5 (tomo VIII); 8 (XV); 9 (IX); 10 (III); 12 (XI).

En *B. A. E.* : núm. 6 (tomo XXIV, 43).

1622

82. Cartel para la justa poética de la canonización de San Isidro. Madrid, 1622. Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 1904, lo atribuye a Lope. Se incluye en el siguiente número (83).

83. Vega (Lope de). *Relación* de las fiestas de la canonización de San Isidro. Madrid, 1622 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 1905).

En *O. S.*, XII, incluyendo algunas obras dramáticas de Lope y multitud de poesías ajenas.

84. Murcia de la Llana (Francisco). *Canciones lúgubres y tristes*. Madrid, 1622. Aprobación de Lope : fecha 28 de abril de 1622 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 1865).

85. Monforte y Herrera (Fernando de). *Relación de las fiestas que ha hecho el Colegio Imperial de la Compañía*

de Jesús, de Madrid, en la canonización de San Ignacio de Loyola y San Francisco Javier. Madrid, 1622 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 1861; Gallardo, *Ensayo*, III, columnas 833-835).

« Además de las poesías del certamen » (Lope no debió de concurrir a él por su calidad de secretario del mismo) se inserta una de Lope entre las que « se pusieron en los escudos que decoraban los altares » (Pérez Pastor). No se dan más detalles acerca de esa poesía.

León Pinelo atribuyó a Lope esta relación, pero Pérez Pastor cree que es de Monforte.

Véase también Alenda y Mira, *Relaciones &*, núm. 749.

Hay otra *Relación de las fiestas que se han hecho en esta Corte a la canonización de cinco santos : copiada de una carta que escribió Manuel Ponce.* Madrid, Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1622. Dan razón de ella : Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 1892, y Alenda y Mira (*op. cit.*, núm. 750), y ha sido reeditada en *R. H.*, XLVI, 1919, 583-606. Se transcriben en esta relación (págs. 583-595), sin indicarse quién sea el autor de ellas, cuatro octavas. Ignoro si alguna será la poesía de Lope, que está copiada, como ya dijimos, en el libro de Monforte.

La *Relación* sacada de la carta de Ponce, indica entre los escritores premiados a dos significadísimos enemigos de Lope de Vega : Pedro de Torres Rámila y Juan Pablo Martir Rizo. No hubo de ser, sin duda, muy grato para el poeta, secretario del certamen, el acto de entregarles los premios. Como es muy creíble que esta justa literaria tuviera importancia en la lucha entablada entre « culteranos » y « llanos », creemos que convendría publicar íntegramente la *Relación* de Monforte, donde se insertan las composiciones premiadas.

La Barrera (*Nueva biografía*, 367-372) involucra en uno solo los dos certámenes que se efectuaron en este año y en que intervino Lope : el de la canonización de San Isidro,

convocado por la villa de Madrid (vid. nuestro número 83), y el presente convocado por la Compañía de Jesús.

86. Garcilasso de la Vega... de Don Tomás Tamayo de Vargas. Madrid, 1622. Esta edición de las poesías de Garcilaso lleva una aprobación de Lope, copiada por Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 1848.

87. Paredes (Antonio de). *Rimas*. Córdoba, 1622. Aprobación de Lope : Madrid, 7 de julio de 1622 (José María de Valdenebro y Cisneros, *La imprenta en Córdoba*, núm. 118). Vid. Gallardo, *Ensayo*, III, columna 1085.

1623

88. Crehuades (Juan Nicolás). *Solenes y grandiosas fiestas que la ciudad de Valencia &*. Valencia, 1623. Al certamen, celebrado en honor de la Inmaculada Concepción, concurrió Lope (Salvá, *Catálogo*, núm. 222; Palau, *Manual*, II, 326).

89. Leon Tapia (Fructos de). *Poema castellano que contiene la vida del bienaventurado San Fructos*. Madrid, 1623. Aprobación de Lope : Madrid, 31 de julio de 1622 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 1958).

90. Soto de Rojas (Licenciado Pedro). *Desengaño de amor, en rimas*. Madrid, 1623. « Elogio de Lope de Vega Carpio al licenciado Pedro Soto de Rojas (en prosa) » (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2020).

En *O. S.*, XVII, 249-252, figura : « En alabanza de la poesía (en prosa), de Lope, que corresponde al dicho libro de Soto.

Rectificaremos un dato equivocado que trae Pérez Pastor (*loc. cit*), según el cual la *Academia Salvaje*, de la que habían formado parte tanto Lope como Soto de Rojas, comenzó en 1621. El pasaje de Soto que cita Pérez Pastor está copiado asimismo por La Barrera (*Nueva biografía*, 184), que indica

1612 y no 1621. Téngase en cuenta que D. Francisco de Silva, en cuya casa se reunía la Academia, y de cuyo apellido tomó ésta el nombre, falleció en 1618 (La Barrera, *loc. cit.*). Añádase a los datos biográficos de D. Francisco, recordados por La Barrera, la relación de cierta pendencia, en 1612 (Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relaciones*, 461).

Interesante ha de ser, probablemente, cierto « Discurso en lengua latina acerca de la poética y perfècta medida del verso castellano, imitando la oración que T. Tasso hizo en la Academia de Ferrara », leído por Soto, su autor, en la sesión inaugural de dicha Academia, publicado después en el *Desengaño*, y al cual se refiere Lope. La oración del Tasso, a que se alude, ha de ser el diálogo titulado *La Cavaletta, ovvero della poesia toscana* (T. Tasso, *Dialoghi scelti*. Milano, Sonzogno, 1878, págs. 139-180).

91. VALDIVIELSO (JOSEF DE). *Exposición parafrástica del Psalterio*. Madrid, 1623. Décima de Lope (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2028).

En *O. S.*, XVII, 286 : « Si tanto os quereis honrar ».

91 bis. IBARRA (JUAN ANTONIO DE). *Encomio de los ingenios sevillanos. En la fiesta de los santos Inacio* (*sic*) *de Loyola y Francisco Xavier*. Sevilla, 1623. Aprobación de Lope : Madrid, 15 de agosto de 1623 (Gallardo, *Ensayo*, III, columnas 255-256).

91 tripl. VEGA (LOPE DE). *La Virgen de la Almudena. Poema histórico. A la S. C. R. Magestad D. Isabel de Borbón &.* Madrid, por la Viuda de Alonso Martín (sin a.) ¿ 1623 ? Véase Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, columna 963.

Suponemos que esta edición, sin año, sea la primera de dicho poema, el cual figura en *O. S.*, XV, 401-441, y volvió a salir en los *Triunfos divinos con otras Rimas sacras*, en 1625 (vid. nuestro número 108).

El tal poema alude repetidamente a la ceremonia de poner la primera piedra del templo de la Almudena, que se efectuó

en Madrid, el 15 de noviembre de 1623 (Mesonero Romanos, *El antiguo Madrid*. Madrid, 1881, I, 168); y es muy probable que de inmediato se imprimiese el poema.

91 cuadrupl. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Décima octava parte de sus comedias*. Madrid, 1623 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2032).

Señalaremos en esta colección (que no lleva prólogo) las dedicatorias de las siguientes comedias :

1 — « El Príncipe perfecto, segunda parte », al Marqués de Alcañices.
2 — « La pobreza estimada », al Príncipe de Esquilache.
3 — « El divino Africano », a D. Rodrigo Mascareñas.
4 — « La pastoral de Jacinto », a doña Catalina Maldonado.
5 — « El honrado hermano », a D. Juan Muñoz de Escobar.
6 — « El Capellán de la Virgen », a doña Catalina de Avilés.
7 — « La piedad ejecutada », a D. Gonzalo Pérez de Valenzuela.
8 — « Las famosas asturianas », a D. Juan de Castro y Castilla.
9 — « La campana de Aragón », a D. Fernando de Vallejo.
10 — « Quien ama no haga fieros », a D. Jorge de Tovar Valderrama.
11 — « El rústico del cielo », a D. Francisco de Cuadros y Salazar.
12 — « El valor de las mujeres », al Dr. Matías de Porras.

Fuera de las que hemos señalado con los núms. 7 y 12 (la última de ellas está extractada por Pérez Pastor), las demás dedicatorias han sido reimpresas modernamente, como sigue :

En *B. A. E.* : núm. 1 (tomo LII, 117); 2 (LII, 139); 8 (XLI, 465); 9 (XLI, 35); 10 (XXIV, 433).

En *Obras de Lope*, edición de la Academia : núm. 3 (tomo IV); 4 (V); 5 (VI); 6 (IV); 11 (V).

1624

92. VEGA (LOPE DE). *La Circe*. Madrid, 1624 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2137).

Contiene este libro :

La Circe (*O. S.*, III, págs. VII-XII, y 1-105).

La mañana de San Juan (*id.*, III, 107-135).

La rosa blanca (*id.*, III, 137-164).

Tres novelas : *La desdicha por la honra* (o *El desdichado por la honra*, según *O. S.*, t. VIII : vid. nº 162). *La prudente venganza, Guzmán el Bravo* (*id.*, VIII, 68-219).

Varias *Epístolas*, con algunos *sonetos* (*id.*, I, 279-409).

93. OFICIO DEL PRÍNCIPE CRISTIANO, DEL CARDENAL ROBERTO BELARMINO... TRADUCIDO POR MIGUEL DE LEÓN SOÁREZ. Madrid, 1624. Décima de Lope al traductor (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2050, copia la décima : « Hoy del Príncipe cristiano »).

En *O. S.*, XXI, 186.

94. CAMERINO (JOSÉ). *Novelas amorosas*. Madrid, 1624. Soneto de Lope (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2051).

El soneto (« Con tierna edad y con prudencia cana ») en *O. S.*, XVII, 285.

95. CONTRERAS (FRANCISCO DE). *Nave trágica*. Madrid, 1624. Aprobación de Lope : Madrid, 12 de noviembre de 1624. Décima de Lope al Autor (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2055).

96. DÍAZ MORANTE (PEDRO). *Segunda parte del Arte de escribir*. Madrid, 1624. Poesía de Lope : « Rindió por los primeros elementos » (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2059). Vid. nuestros números 123 y 130.

En *O. S.*, XVII, 290.

97. FARÍA Y SOUSA (MANUEL DE). *Divinas y humanas flores. Primera y segunda parte*. Madrid, 1624. Soneto de Lope (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2063).

En *O. S.*, XVII, 265, el soneto : « Dió Apolo, como al Griego y al Latino ».

98. FARÍA Y SOUSA (MANUEL DE). *Noches claras. Primera parte*. Madrid, 1624. Décima de Lope (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2064).

La décima (« Peregrina erudición ») en *O. S.*, XVII, 264.

99. Francia y Acosta (Francisco de). *Jardín de Apolo.* Madrid, 1624. Aprobación de Lope : Madrid, 26 de julio de1624 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2068; Gallardo, *Ensayo*, II, columna 1093).

100. Pérez de Montalbán (Licenciado Juan). *Orfeo en lengua castellana.* Madrid, 1624. Aprobación de Lope : Madrid, 21 de agosto de 1624 (se copia en parte). Carta de Lope al Autor (se copia en parte). Vid. Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2094; Gallardo, *Ensayo*, III, columna 1206.

Muchos de los contemporáneos de Lope tuvieron este poema por obra del gran poeta. Pérez Pastor (*loc. cit*) da noticia de no menos de tres ejemplares de la primera edición, que llevan notas manuscritas que así lo aseveran. Alguno de los desconocidos anotadores dice que así se lo confesó el propio Lope (vid. Ménéndez y Pelayo, *Estudios sobre el teatro de Lope*, II, 214-217, así como nuestro artículo *Jáuregui y Lope* en el *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo.* Santander, 1926, y Salvá, *Catálogo*, núm. 1931).

101. Remón (Alonso). *Gobierno humano, sacado del divino.* Madrid, 1624. « Lope de Vega Carpio, en razón del asumpto » (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2116).

102. Reyes (Matías de los). *El Curial del Parnaso.* Madrid, 1624. Aprobación de Lope : Madrid, 30 de enero de 1624 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2117). Dicha aprobación ha sido reproducida en la edición de la misma obra por el Sr. Cotarelo, Madrid, 1909, pág. 5.

103. Salcedo Coronel (Don García de). *Ariadna.* Madrid, 1624. Aprobación de Lope : Madrid, 5 de noviembre de 1624. Se copia en parte por Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2121.

104. Suárez de Gamboa (el Capitán Juan). *Tratado de consideraciones católicas &.* Madrid, 1624. Soneto de Lope « al atrevimiento a la Sacratísima Hostia, y el asunto deste

tratado ». Dió lugar, efectivamente, al libro cierto sacrilegio cometido en Madrid, en el convento de San Felipe, el 5 de junio de 1624 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2127).

En *O. S.* (XVII, 260) el soneto (« Al Sol en cuyos rayos se desvela »).

105. VALDIVIELSO (JOSEF DE). *Vida excelencias y muerte de... San Josef.* Madrid, 1624. Poesía de Lope (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2133).

Pero hay ediciones anteriores · ¿ Toledo, 1604 ?, Barcelona, 1607, Toledo, 1608, Lisboa, 1609, Barcelona, 1610 & (vid. Cejador, *Historia*, IV, 234, y Palau, *Manual*, VII, 99). Acaso en todas, o en alguna de ellas, figurase ya la poesía de Lope, cosa que no he podido comprobar hasta esta de 1624.

En *O. S.* (XVII, 287) la poesía (« Josef canta a Josef, Josef humano »).

105 bis. BONILLA (ALONSO DE). *Nombres y atributos de la impecable siempre virgen Maria.* Baeza, 1624. Aprobación de Lope. Prólogo del mismo (Gallardo, *Ensayo*, II, columna 110).

105 tripl. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Décima novena parte de sus comedias.* Madrid, 1624 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2136).

Nos interesa señalar en esta colección :

El « Prólogo dialogístico » (en *B. A. E.*, LII, págs. XXVII-XXIX).

Y además las dedicatorias de las siguientes comedias :

1 — « De cosario a cosario », a doña Ana Francisca de Guzmán.
2 — « Amor secreto hasta celos », a D. Luís de Góngora.
3 — « La inocente sangre », al Licdo. D. Sebastián de Caravajal.
4 — « El serafín humano », primera parte, a doña Paula Porcel de Peralta.
5 — « El hijo de los leones », a D. Juan Geldre.
6 — « El Conde Fernán González », a D. Luís Sánchez García.
7 — « D. Juan de Castro », primera parte, al Conde de Cantillana.
8 — « Id., segunda parte, a D. Alonso Pusmarín.

9 — « La limpieza no manchada », a la Marquesa de Toral.
10 — « El vellocino de oro », a doña Luisa Briceño de la Cueva.
11 — « La mocedad de Roldán », a D. Francisco Diego de Zayas.
12 — « Carlos V en Francia », a Gabriel Díaz.

De todas esas dedicatorias hay reproducción moderna, tal como se indica a continuación :

En *B. A. E.* : núm. 1 (tomo XLI, 483); 3 (LII, 349); 5 (XXXIV, 217); 7 (LII, 373); 8 (LII, 395).

En *Obras de Lope*, nueva edición de la Academia : núm. 2 (tomo III, 390).

En *Obras de Lope*, edición de la Academia: núm. 4 (tomo IV); 6 (VIII); 9 (V); 10 (VI); 11 (XIII); 12 (XII).

¿ 1624 ?

106. En este año de 1624 se debió de imprimir (¿ en Madrid ?) cierto cuaderno de 24 folios en cuarto, sin portada ni preliminares, que vió La Barrera (*Nueva biografía*, 381) y cuyo contenido es el siguiente :

Censura del culteranismo, por Lope (de *La Filomena*, 1621, entre las *epístolas* que salieron en la misma; vid. nuestro número 74).

Respuesta por el licenciado Diego de Colmenares a la censura precedente. Fechada en Segovia, el 13 de noviembre de 1621.

Respuesta de Lope a la carta precedente (es una epístola, dirigida : « A un Señor destos reinos », donde indirectamente contesta a Colmenares. Salió en *La Circe* (Vid. nuestro número 92; *O. S.*, I, 342-351).

Respuesta de Colmenares « a la tarta antecedente, por sus mismos puntos ».

Aunque las dos obras de Lope aludidas en este número figuran ya en los presentes *Apuntes*, no hemos querido dejar de mencionar este raro impreso, que vió La Barrera en la

Biblioteca de San Isidro de Madrid, en la esperanza de que ello pueda estimular la publicación de los escritos de Colmenares, que nos figuramos muy interesantes para los estudios sobre el culteranismo.

¿ 1624 ?

107. *Carta* de Lope al Abad de Montearagón, fechada en Madrid, el 24 de septiembre de 1624, y que figura en *O. S.*, XVII, 270-271. La incluimos conjeturalmente en el año en que fué redactada. En este mismo año de 1624 mencionaba al « doctor D. Martín Carrillo, abad de Montearagón », D. Tomás Tamayo de Vargas, en su *Flavio Lucio Dextro* (vid. Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2128, pág. 249). Terminada ya la redacción de estos *Apuntes*, creemos que la carta de que se trata debió de salir en el libro de que damos cuenta en nuestro número 148.

1625.

108. Vega (Lope de). *Triunfos divinos, con otras Rimas sacras*. Madrid, 1625 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2235).

Contenido :

Triunfos divinos (*O. S.*, XIII, págs. xiii-xxiv), y 1-73.

Rimas sacras (*O. S.*, XIII, 77-160; vid. nuestros núms. 148 y 156).

La Vírgen de la Almudena (*O. S.*, XV, 401-441).

Dice Pérez Pastor que esta edición es la *primera* de los *Triunfos* y *Rimas*, y la *segunda* de *La Vírgen de la Almudena*. Pero por otra parte no reseña la primera edición de éste poema, que sin embargo parece ser que se imprimió en Madrid acaso en 1623 (vid. nuestro número 91 tripl.). De *O. S.*, XV, págs. v-vi, y de La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 391, resultaría que la presente es la *primera* edición de la *Almudena*.

El prólogo de los *Triunfos*, firmado por el « licenciado don Luís de la Carrera », es también obra de Lope (vid. La Barrera,

Nueva biografía, 390; Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, 303, y nuestro artículo *Jáuregui y Lope*, ya recordado).

Vid. nuestro número 156.

109. Castillo Solórzano (Alonso del). *Donaires del Parnaso*. Madrid, tomo I, 1624; tomo II, 1625. Dos aprobaciones de Lope, ambas fechadas en Madrid, la primera el 18 de noviembre de 1623, y la segunda el 25 de septiembre de 1624 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2148). Pérez Pastor da razón de los dos tomos en el año de 1625, en el cual parece que saldrían ambos. Vid. Gallardo, *Ensayo*, II, columnas 291 y 296.

110. Cueva y Silva (D. Francisco de la). *Información en derecho divino y humano por la Purísima Concepción*. Madrid, 1625. Soneto de Lope (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 2157). Probablemente es el mismo soneto : « Cuando de siempre hidalga se pretende », que está en *O. S.*, X, 39, procedente de *La Vega del Parnaso* (vid. nuestro número 147).

111. Ledesma (Alonso de). *Epigramas y hieroglíficos*. Madrid, 1625. Aprobación de Lope : Madrid, 14 de diciembre de 1624 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2173).

112. Nieva Calvo (Sebastián de). *La mejor mujer &*. Madrid, 1625. Aprobación de Lope : Madrid, 18 de agosto de 1624 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2190).

113. Obras de Francisco de Figueroa, publicadas por el Licenciado Luís Tribaldos de Toledo. Lisboa, 1625. Contiene una carta de Lope a D. Vicente Noguera, del Consejo de S. M., y unas canciones, también de Lope, a Francisco de Figueroa (vid. el artículo de D. Angel Lacalle Fernández, titulado *Francisco de Figueroa, el Divino*, en la *Revista Crítica Hispanoamericana*, que dirigía mi buen amigo el Sr. Bonilla y San Martín, V, 128-129; así como Palau, *Manual*, III, 234; y Gallardo, *Ensayo*, II, columnas 1074 y 1075). Téngase en cuenta que Lope había publicado ya en 1621 (en *La Filomena ;* véase el número 74 de los pre-

sentes *Apuntes*) una poesía dedicada a Francisco de Figueroa, que acaso será una de las *canciones* a que alude el Sr. Lacalle.

Según resulta de las anotaciones de los Srs. Schevill y Bonilla y San Martín a *La Galatea*, de Cervantes (Madrid, 1914, II, 354) la edición de las *Obras* de Francisco de Figueroa, Lisboa, 1625, contiene una sola canción, en ocho estrofas, de Lope, además de una carta en prosa (la que hemos mencionado) fechada en Madrid, a 28 de agosto de 1625. Una de las estrofas de la canción, copiada por dichos Srs., acredita que, efectivamente, se trata de la misma poesía publicada en *La Filomena*. Como el tal libro lleva además una carta en prosa de Jáuregui a Noguera, fechada también en Madrid, a 16 de septiembre de 1625, puede conjeturarse que con ocasión de todo ello tuviese lugar la reconciliación entre Lope y Jáuregui.

113 bis. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Vigésima parte de sus comedias*. Madrid, 1625 (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2233).

Hemos de señalar en esta colección las dedicatorias de las siguientes comedias :

1 — « La discreta venganza », a la Duquesa de Frías.
2 — « Lo cierto por lo dudoso », al Duque de Alcalá.
3 — « Pobreza no es vileza », al Duque de Maqueda.
4 — « Arauco domado », al Marqués de Cañete.
5 — « La ventura sin buscarla », a doña María de Vera.
6 — « El valiente Céspedes », a D. Alonso de Alvarado.
7 — « El hombre por la palabra », a Diego de Molino y Avellaneda.
8 — « Roma abrasada », al maestro Gil González Dávila.
9 — « Virtud, pobreza y mujer », al caballero Marino.
10 — « El rey sin reino », al capitán frey Alonso de Contreras.
11 — « El mejor mozo de España », a Pedro Verjel.
12 — « El marido más firme », a Manuel Faría de Sousa.

Excepto las dedicatorias que llevan los números 5 y 7 de la relación anterior, todas las demás se hallarán reproducidas modernamente, como sigue.

En *B. A. E.* : núm. 1 (tomo XLI, 303); 2 (XXIV, 453); 3 (LII, 233); 8 (LII, 279); 9 (LII, 211); 11 (XLI, 609).

En *Obras de Lope*, edición de la Academia : núm. 4 (tomo XII); 6 (XII); 10 (VI); 12 (VI).

1626

114. Vega (Lope de). *Soliloquios amorosos de un alma a Dios*, escritos en lengua latina por el M. R. Padre Gabriel Padecopeo [seudónimo de Lope], y en la castellana por Lope de Vega Carpio. Barcelona, 1626 (esta es la edición más antigua que describe Salvá, *Catálogo ;* vid. también Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, 210, y La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 395-399).

En *O. S.*, XVII, 1-93.

115. Vega (Lope de). *Canción en la entrada del Ilmo. y Revdo. señor el Cardenal D. Francisco Barberino... &.* ¿ Madrid ?, 1626.

Según D. Jacinto Octavio Picón (introducción a la *Guerra de Cataluña*, de D. Francisco Manuel de Melo. Madrid, 1912, pág. xi), esta canción salió en pliego suelto en 1626. Se publicó después en la *Corona trágica*, 1627 (vid. nuestro número 118). Vid. Alenda y Mira, *Relaciones*, números 871 a 875.

En *O. S.*, IV, 483.

116. Velázquez de Acevedo (D. Juan). *El Fénix de Minerva y Arte de memoria*. Madrid, 1626. Carta de Lope, sin fecha, respondiendo a otra del autor. En *O. S.*, XXI, 189. Vid. Palau, *Manual*, VII, 140, y Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, columna 990.

117. Cuevas (Francisco de las) [seudónimo del doctor Francisco de Quintana]. *Experiencias de amor y fortuna*. Madrid, 1626. Epístola en prosa, de Lope (en *O. S.*, XVII, 300).

Vid. : La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 502; Cejador, *Historia*, V, 47; así como nuestro artículo *Jáuregui y Lope*, en *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo*. Santander, 1926, reimpreso, con adiciones, en nuestros *Estudios de literatura española*. La Plata (*Biblioteca Humanidades* de la Universidad), 1928.

1627

118. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Corona trágica*. Madrid, 1627 (Salvá, *Catálogo*, núm. 1029, y La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 401).

Contenido :

Corona trágica (*O. S.*, IV, págs. XV-XXV y 1-162).

Poesías varias (*O. S.*, IV, 483-512).

De entre estas *Poesías varias*, la *Canción en la entrada del Cardenal Barberino* (aparecida ya en 1626 : vid. nuestro número 115), así como la *Canción en la acción de llevar el Santísimo Sacramento el Cardenal Barberino*, se refieren a sucesos ocurridos en 1626. El Cardenal había sido enviado a España, como legado, con importante misión, por su tío el papa Urbano VIII. Con todo ello tienen relación tanto el soneto dedicado *A un retrato de Su Santidad*, como otro *A Monseñor Juan Bautista Ciampoli, Secretario de Su Santidad*, y un tercero *A Monseñor Juan Jácome Pancirolo, partiéndose a Roma* (vid. nuestro núm. 174 *b*). En cuanto a la égloga *Amarylida, en la suerte de la Serenísima Infanta doña María*, como quiera que Góngora (*Obras*, edición de M. R. Foulché-Delbosc, II, pág. 397) dedicó también una poesía a la misma Señora, en 1625, con ocasión de haber dado muerte a un javalí en Aranjuez, conjeturo que la de Lope ha de celebrar el mismo suceso, y probablemente se escribió, juntamente con la de Góngora, para alguna academia literaria. No sería el único caso. Otra poesía : « Con respeto se retrata », procedente de las *Rimas de Burguillos* (en *B. A. E.*, XXXVIII,

237) dedicada *A la fuente de Garcilaso, que está en Batres*, ha de haber sido escrita parecidamente en competencia con otras, de las que conozco una de Góngora (« El líquido cristal que hoy desta fuente »; *Obras* citadas, II, pág. 405, año 1626, que ha de ser también la fecha de estas poesías), y otra de Paravicino (« Si en labios, huésped, atentos »; *Rimas póstumas de D. Félix de Arteaga*, Alcalá, 1650, folio 95). El soneto *A la venida del inglés a Cadiz*, se refiere a la expedición de 1625. En cuanto a otro *A los casamientos del Excelentísimo Sr. Duque de Feria* (vid. nuestro número 174 *b*), no podemos fecharlo exactamente. Comienza : « Feria después que del arnés dorado ». Sabemos que el tercer Duque de Feria era cuñado del mecenas de Lope, Duque de Sessa, por haberse casado en 1607 con doña Francisca de Córdoba, hermana del de Sessa. Muerta doña Francisca, volvió a casar con una señora de la casa de Priego, que al fallecer el Duque en 1634 quedaba « moza y recién casada » (Matías de Novoa, *Memorias*, I, 307). El soneto, pues, hubo de ser escrito muy poco antes de ser publicado. El otro que dedica Lope *A la pintura y poesía de D. Juan de Jáuregui* ha de ser posterior a la reconciliación del poeta con Jáuregui hacia septiembre de 1625 (vid. nuestros *Estudios de Literatura Española*, La Plata, 1928, pág. 243), y en cuanto al consagrado *A la muerte de D. Luís de Góngora*, es sabido que ésta tuvo lugar en Córdoba el 23 de mayo de 1627. *A la muerte del Dr. Narbona* se dedica otro soneto, y no sabemos la fecha de ese suceso, pero sí que el aludido publicó dos de sus obras en 1624 (Cejador, *Historia*, IV, 238). Otro soneto celebra *A una custodia que hizo fabricar en Italia el cardenal Zapata*, personaje del que sabemos que fué nombrado cardenal en 1603 (Garma. *Theatro universal de España*, III, 82), y Consejero de Estado en 1599 (*id.*, IV, 75); que fué virrey de Nápoles desde 1620 a 1622 (Capelli, *Cronologia*, 332), o Inquisidor General desde principios de 1627 hasta que falleció en 1639

(Garma, *id.*, IV, 306-307). El soneto, pues, data probablemente de tiempos muy inmediatos a su publicación. Por último, La Barrera (*Nueva biografía*, 403) hace notar que el soneto : « Cuando feroz el carro de Belona », que no lleva epígrafe, se refiere a la muerte de Enrique IV de Francia, y si es así ha de ser posterior a 1610.

119. QUINTANA (EL DOCTOR FRANCISCO DE). *Historia de Hipólito y Aminta*. Madrid, 1627 (Salvá, *Catálogo*, número 1954).

En *O. S.*, XXI, pág. XV, hay un soneto : « Este de Apolo singular tesoro », procedente, según se indica, de dicha edición.

119 bis. DÍAZ CALLECERRADA (MARCELO). *Endimión*. Madrid, 1627. Aprobación de Lope : Madrid, 12 de junio de 1627 (se copia). Gallardo, *Ensayo*, II, columna 775.

1628

120. SALGADO Y CAMARGO (DON FERNANDO DE) (fray Hernando de Camargo : vid. nuestro número 69). *El santo milagroso augustiniano San Nicolás de Tolentino*. Madrid, 1628. Soneto de Lope (« Canta Camargo a Nicolás, y canta »; *O. S.*, XVII, 222). Décimas del mismo (« Lector, no hay sílaba aquí »; *O. S.*, XVII, 223-224). Vid. Cejador, *Historia*, V, 65; Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, columna 408; y Menéndez y Pelayo, *Obras completas*, XI, págs. 12-17.

Las décimas son, con leves modificaciones, las aludidas en el número 63, que Lope había dedicado a Baltasar Elisio de Medinilla (vid. artículo citado del Sr. Restori, págs. 272-273). Las de Medinilla son 8. En las 4 dedicadas a Camargo conserva, con algunas variantes, las números 1, 5, 3 y 8.

1629

121. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Iságoge a los Reales de la Compañia de Jesús*. Madrid, 1629 (aunque sin lugar ni año). Vid. La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 407 y 519.

Salió después en *La Vega del Parnaso* (vid. nuestro número 147) y figura en *O. S.*, X, 308.

122. Castro Egas (Doña Ana de) [no Castro Egeas, como se dice en *O. S.*]. *Eternidad del rey don Felipe III... su vida y santas costumbres.* Madrid, 1629. Un soneto de Lope (Serrano y Sanz, *Apuntes*, I, 248-249).

El soneto (« Tu dulce voz, cual suele en primavera »), en *O. S.*, XVII, 261.

123. Díaz Morante (Pedro). *Tercera parte del Arte de escribir.* Madrid, 1629 (Cejador, *Historia*, IV, 340). Vid. nuestros números 96 y 130.

Una canción de Lope, dedicada a dicho libro (« Fénix, tercera vez levanta el vuelo »), en *O. S.*, XVII, 292. Está también en el códice Pidal (vid. nuestro número 174).

124. Colodrero de Villalobos (Don Miguel). *Varias rimas.* Córdoba, 1629. Aprobación de Lope : Madrid, 3 de abril de 1629. Soneto de Lope. El autor, poeta gongorista, fué servidor del Duque de Sessa (José María de Valdenebro y Cisneros, *La imprenta en Córdoba*, núm. 138; Ramírez de Arellano, *Ensayo de un catálogo &*, I, pág. 152; Cejador, *Historia*, V, 93). Vid. nuestro número 149, así como Gallardo, *Ensayo*, II, columna 496.

El soneto (« Sale la Aurora en su oriental esfera ») en *O. S.*, XVII, 266. La aprobación no figura en *O. S.*

125. Ximénez Patón (el Maestro Bartolomé). *Discursos de los tufos, copetes y calvas.* Baeza, 1629 y 1639 (Cejador, *Historia*, IV, 236).

En *O. S.*, XVII, 272-273, una carta de Lope, procedente de dicho libro, fechada en Madrid, 5 de noviembre de 1627. Supongo que saldría en esta primera edición.

126. Rodríguez de León (Doctor Juan). *La Perla, Vida de Santa Margarita, virgen y martir.* Madrid, 1629. Una silva de Lope (Serrano y Sanz, *Apuntes* &, I, pág. 88). Vid. Cejador, *Historia*, V, 95.

126 bis. SEGURA (FRANCISCO DE). *Segunda parte de la Primavera y Flor de los mejores romances.* Zaragoza, Viuda de L. Sánchez, 1629 (Palau, *Manual*, VI, 484; Durán, *Catálogo*, en *B. A. E.*, XVI, 678).

Contiene esta colección la poesía reseñada en nuestro número 182 *f.*

1630

127. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Laurel de Apolo con otras Rimas.* Madrid, 1630 (La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 409).

Contenido :

Laurel de Apolo (*O. S.*, I, págs. XXI-XXXVII, y 1-221).

La selva sin amor, égloga (*id.*, I, 223-255). Esta composición de carácter dramático lleva un prólogo o dedicatoria al Almirante de Castilla.

Una silva, una epístola y ocho sonetos (*id.*, I, 256-276).

En *O. S.*, (I, 519-530) se añadió una *Tabla alfabética* de los poetas celebrados en el *Laurel.*

Trataremos brevemente de la fecha de redacción de algunas de las composiciones sueltas ya mencionadas.

Y ante todo de la *silva*, que está incluida en el códice Pidal (vid. el número 174 de los presentes *Apuntes*). Está dedicada « Al cuadro y retrato de S. M. que hizo Pedro Pablo Rubens ». Los titulillos que van sobre las páginas en *O. S.* (vid. I, 257) indican que este retrato es de Felipe II, pero por algunos detalles (se menciona un Carlos, bisabuelo del personaje retratado) resulta que se trata en realidad de un retrato ecuestre de Felipe IV. Rubens estuvo en España en dos ocasiones, la primera en 1603, y después en 1628-1629. A la fecha de este último viaje hay que referir la silva. En el Prado no sé que haya retrato alguno de Felipe IV pintado por Rubens, pero sí hay (núm. 1686) un retrato ecuestre de Felipe II, que sin duda dió lugar a la equivocación del colector de las *O. S.* Es seguro que el retrato a que se refiere

Lope era uno que estaba en el llamado *Salón de los espejos*, del Palacio viejo, el cual quedó destruido en el incendio de 1734 (Pedro de Madrazo, *Viaje artístico de tres siglos por las colecciones de cuadros de los reyes de España*. Barcelona, 1884, pág. 127).

En cuanto a la siguiente « Epístola a D. Miguel de Solís Ovando », La Barrera (*Nueva biografía*, 403) señala su composición al comenzar la primavera de 1628.

De los sonetos sólo podemos fechar el dedicado : « A la muerte de Girólamo Preti, excelente poeta, viniendo de Italia a España ». Preti falleció en Barcelona, en 1626, mientras acompañaba como secretario al cardenal Barberini, de quien tantas menciones había de hacer Lope en sus obras (A. Farinelli, *Viajes por España y Portugal*. Madrid, 1921, 500; Garollo, *Dizionario biografico universale*. Milano, Hoepli, II, 1907, pág. 1586).

De los sonetos incluidos en el « Laurel de Apolo », podemos fechar otros dos, además del ya mencionado :

a) « Seyano, a leves culpas graves penas » (*O. S.*, I, 274). Figura (La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 636) en una carta de Lope, fechada el 14 de febrero de 1628.

b) « Cándida y no pintada mariposa » (*O. S.*, I, 272). Este soneto se halla incluido también en la comedia « Lo que ha de ser » (*B. A. E.*, XXXIV, 509 *a*), según lo indicó el Sr. Montesinos (en *R. F. E.*, 1924, 310). De esta comedia hay un manuscrito fechado el 2 de septiembre de 1624 (Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, 492).

127 bis. Vega (Lope de). *Amar sin saber a quién*, comedia incluida en la *Parte XXI*, Zaragoza, 1630 (Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, 460).

En el acto I, escena 6 (*B.A. E.*, XXXIV, 444), uno de los personajes alude a cierto romance, muy bello :

Ponte a las rejas azules — deja la manga que labras.

(*B. A. E.*, X, núm. 128, procedente del *Romancero general de* 1600, parte IV, folio 93 v.). Ello no es motivo bastante para *afirmar*, pero sí para *sospechar*, al menos, que se trate de una obra de Lope.

Copiaremos la escena de que se trata, subrayando los versos que han sido sacados del romance :

INÉS. Si te enternecen palabras,
aunque más lo disimules,
ponte a las rejas azules,
deja la manga que labras,
melancólica Jarifa :
verás al galán Audalla.
LEONARDA. ¿ Estudias romances ?
INÉS. Calla;
que ya la mora Jarifa
está diciendo a su hermana
que al moro bizarro vea
que nuestra calle pasea
en una yegua alazana.
LEONARDA. Después que das en leer,
Inés, en el Romancero,
lo que a aquel pobre escudero,
te podría suceder.
INÉS. Don Quijote de la Mancha
(perdone Dios a Cervantes)
fué de los extravagantes
que la corónica ensancha.

El romance a que venimos aludiendo, figura, no sólo en el *Romancero General*, sino también en los *Romancerillos de Pisa* (núm. 28), y en los *Romancerillos de la Ambrosiana* (núm. 43) : véanse nuestros números 209 y 200.

128. PÁEZ DE VALENZUELA (JUAN). *Nuevo estilo y formulario de escribir cartas misivas.* Córdoba, 1630. Aprobación de Lope : Madrid, 13 de agosto de 1629 (José María de Valdenebro y Cisneros, *La imprenta en Córdoba*, núm. 142).

1631

129. Vida del glorioso patriarca San Juan de Dios..., hecha en octavas por un devoto. Y unas canciones al mismo santo, compuestas por frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio. Sevilla, 1631. La dedicatoria va firmada por fray Alonso de la Concepción, ¿ autor, acaso, de la *Vida* ? La *canción* de Lope comienza : « Pobre el más rico que vistió de cielo », y volvió a salir en 1637 en *La Vega del Parnaso* (vid. nuestro número 147). Está en *O. S.*, X, 45. Vid. Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, 534.

130. Díaz Morante (Pedro). *Cuarta parte del Arte de escribir*. Madrid, 1631 (Cejador, *Historia*, IV, 340). Vid. nuestros números 96 y 123.

Una canción de Lope (« Ofrezcan a tu ingenio en larga copia »), está en *O. S.*, XVII, 294.

131. Fernández de Ribera (Rodrigo). *Mesón del mundo*. Madrid, 1632 (al fin : 1631). Versos laudatorios de Lope (Salvá, *Catálogo*, núm. 1806).

La décima (« Este mesón de las musas »), en *O. S.*, XVII, 274.

132. Pellicer de Ossau Salas y Tovar (D. Josef). *Anfiteatro de Felipe el Grande*. Madrid, 1631 (Cejador, *Historia*, V, 14; Gallardo, *Ensayo*, III, columnas 1116-1119).

Una aprobación y un soneto (« Desprecia invicto, y formidable espanta »), de Lope, para dicha obra, están en *O. S.*, XVII, 398-399. El soneto está repetido, con erratas, en *O. S.*, XVII, 268.

132 bis. Castro y Anaya (Don Pedro de). *Las auroras de Diana*. Madrid, 1631 (Palau, *Manual*, II, 106).

Una aprobación de Lope para dicho libro, fechada en Madrid, 26 de septiembre de 1631, figura en *O. S.*, XXI, pág. xiv, como procedente de una edición posterior : la de Málaga, 1640. Vid. Gallardo, *Ensayo*, II, columna 350.

132 tripl. CAMERINO (JOSEF). *Discurso político &.* Madrid, 1631. Versos de Lope (Gallardo, *Ensayo*, II, columna 206)

132 cuadr. DÁVILA (D. NICOLÁS). *Compendio de la ortografía castellana.* Madrid, 1631. Versos de Lope (Gallardo, *Ensayo*, II, columna 748, y IV, 1145).

1632

133. VEGA (LOPE DE). *La Dorotea*, acción en prosa. Madrid, 1632 (La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 443; Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, 337). Edición reproducida por D. Américo Castro. Madrid, *Renacimiento*, 1913.

Aunque pensamos, con Menéndez y Pelayo, que está obra es fundamentalmente dramática, la incluimos aquí por su carácter mixto de drama y novela.

En *O. S.*, VII, págs. VII-XIV, y 1-463.

134. QUIÑONES (DOCTOR JUAN DE). *El monte Vesubio.* Madrid, 1632 (Salvá, *Catálogo*, núm. 336).

En *O. S.*, XVII, 254-255 hay una poesía (« Este del fuego elementar perene »), dedicada por Lope a dicho libro.

134 bis. PÉREZ DE MONTALBÁN (DR. JUAN). *Para todos.* Madrid, 1632 (C. A. de la Barrera, *Catálogo del teatro antiguo español.* Madrid, 1860, pág. 266).

Esta obra contiene un *índice de los ingenios de Madrid.* La parte referente a Lope (edición de Sevilla, 1736, pág. 522) está calcada en el pasaje de la *Egloga a Claudio* a que aludimos después (vid. nuestro número 147), puesto que sigue el mismo orden de enumeración de las obras de Lope.

Al final (edición citada, págs. 534-535), y tratando de la historia del arte dramático en España, alude a que : « frey Lope de Vega Carpio, con la gran noticia que en esta parte tiene, ha escrito copiosa y científicamente un tratado, todo en abono de este ilustrísimo arte y ejercicio, a cuya adición (¿ edición ?), que saldrá muy presto, me remito ». No

es necesario ponderar la importancia de esta obra de Lope, que debemos dar por perdida.

¿ 1632 ?

135. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Sentimientos a los agravios de Cristo nuestro bien por la nación hebrea.* Comienza : « A la nueva pasión del impasible », y figura en *O. S.*, X, 16, procedente de *La Vega del Parnaso*, libro con el cual salió en 1637 (vid. nuestro número 147).

Pero hay una impresión suelta, al parecer del siglo XVII, sin lugar ni año, de la cual dan razón La Barrera (*Nueva biografía*, 519) y Rennert y Castro (*Vida*, 532), y que es posible que date de 1632. El hecho a que se alude ocurrió en ese año (Matías de Novoa, *Historia de Felipe IV*, I, 183; Serrano y Sanz, *Apuntes*, I, 88). Vid. también el número 135 bis.

¿ 1632 ?

135 bis. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Egloga panegírica al epigrama del Serenísimo Infante Carlos.* Sin lugar ni año : ¿ Madrid, 1632 ? (vid. Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, columna 963).

La égloga (que comienza : « Si del cuidado grave »), está en *O. S.*, IX, 118-129, y salió tambien en *La Vega del Parnaso* (vid. nuestro número 147).

El *epigrama*, de que se trate obra de un hermano de Felipe IV, es un soneto (comienza : « Oh, rompa ya el silencio el dolor mío »), que fué publicado en 1632 por Pérez de Montalbán, en su *Para todos* (edición de Madrid, 1736, pág. 95), y figura también en las *Memorias* de D. Luís de Ulloa y Pereyra (edición del Sr. Artigas en *Bibliófilos Españoles*, 109 : téngase en cuenta que Ulloa alude en lugar muy cercano, pág. 112, a la profanación de un crucifijo, por ciertos hebreos, a que se refiere nuestro número anterior), así como en *B. A. E.*, XLII, 153, y en el *Ensayo* de Gallardo, II, columna 73.

La poesía de Lope está escrita siendo ya viudo el Duque de Medina de las Torres, a quién se halla dedicada (y éste enviudó en 1631), y antes, desde luego, de que falleciese el Infante, el 30 de julio de 1632 (Matías de Novoa, *Historia de Felipe IV*, I, 200). Suponemos que ésta — que tenemos por primera edición de la *Egloga* — ha de corresponder al año 1632.

1633

136. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Amarilis, Egloga.* Madrid, 1633 (La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 247-264 y 456).

Salió después en *La Vega del Parnaso* (vid. núm. 147), y de allí pasó a *O. S.*, X, 147-192.

137. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Elegía en la muerte del licenciado D. Jerónimo de Villaizán.* Madrid, 1633 (La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 456).

Comienza : « Si donde estás, pisando cercos de oro »; en tercetos. No está en *O. S.* Gallardo (*Ensayo*, IV, columna 976) da razón de un manuscrito que contiene dicha elegía.

138. CARDUCHO (VINCENCIO). *Diálogos de la pintura.* Madrid, 1633 (Salvá, *Catálogo*, núm. 2564; Cejador, *Historia*, V, 113).

Proceden de este libro una silva (« Si cuanto fué posible en lo imposible »; *O. S.*, XVII, 304), y cierto : *Dicho y deposición* de Lope, en un pleito sobre exención del arte de la pintura (*O. S.*, XVII, 310-318). Este « dicho » lleva fecha de 4 de noviembre de 1628, y figura también, a lo que parece, en el códice Durán, folio 38 (vid. *B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, 564 *b*).

139. BOCÁNGEL Y UNZUETA (GABRIEL). *Retrato panegírico del Serenísimo Señor don Carlos de Austria.* Madrid, 1633 (Palau, *Manual*, I, 328; Cejador, *Historia*, V, 54).

Una décima de Lope, procedente de este libro (« No cupiera en la osadía »), en *O. S.*, XVII, 277.

1634

140. Burguillos (Tomé de) [seudónimo de Lope]. *Rimas humanas y divinas del licenciado...* (La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 465-485; Salvá, *Catálogo*, núm. 492).

En *O. S.*, XIX, págs. XIII-XXIV, y 1-316.

Lope publicó esta obra bajo el seudónimo de Burguillos, que ya había usado en las fiestas de 1622 (vid. la obra aludida en nuestro número 83). Para su contemporáneos, y para los que recibieron directamente la tradición de éstos, ello era del todo evidente. Pero después, la inmensa fama del poeta comenzó a oscurecerse, y la tradición se fué perdiendo poco a poco. Sabemos que don Nicolás Antonio en 1672 (vid. nuestro número 156 bis), Alonso y Padilla en 1736 (id., 157 bis), don Luís Josef Velázquez en 1754 (*Orígenes de la poesía castellana*, pág. 113 de la segunda edición, Málaga, 1797), López de Sedano en 1768 (vid. nuestro número 161), y Cerdá y Rico, en 1776-1779, en las *O. S.* (vid. nuestro número 162) reconocen el seudónimo. Quintana también, en 1807 (vid. nuestro número 167) inserta *La Gatomaquia* entre las poesías de Lope. Pero Estala, en 1792, en el tomo IX (página 1 del prólogo) de su *Colección de poetas castellanos* (vid. nuestro número 163 bis) anuncia una disertación, en la que había de probar : « que el licenciado Tomé de Burguillos fué hombre real y no fingido, y que sus obras no son de Lope ». La tal disertación no llegó a publicarse, y nada se perdió con ello; pero la absurda opinión tomaba, sin embargo, cuerpo. El colector anónimo de las *Poesías escogidas*, de Lope, Madrid, 1796 (vid. nuestro número 164) dejó la cuestión indecisa, y Böhl de Faber, en su *Floresta* (tomos II y III), en 1821-1825 (vid. nuestro número 168) distinguía, en la *Tabla alfabética de autores*, entre Burguillos y Lope, presentándoles como personas distintas. El Marqués de Pidal, en 1844 (*Estudios literarios*. Madrid, 1890, I, pág. XXXVIII,

y II, págs. 177-191) se manifestaba dudoso. Pero en cambio el gran bibliógrafo Gallardo afirmaba en 1835-1836 (número 5 de *El Criticón*, « renota ») la identidad de Lope y Burguillos; Ticknor, en la parte que dedica a nuestro poeta en su *Historia* (1849) volvía a sostener la misma opinión; y por último La Barrera y Fernández Guerra, en 1859 (vid. *Nueva biografía*, 463, y el tomo LXVIII, publicado en dicho año, de la *B. A. E.*, pág. 496) dieron el golpe de gracia a la absurda opinión y devolvieron las obras del supuesto Burguillos a su verdadero autor.

Vid. nuestros números 30, 118, 155 *bis*, 157 *bis*, 161, 162, 163 *bis*, 164, 168 y 216.

141. Ferreira de la Cerda (Doña Bernarda). *Soledades de Buçaco*. Lisboa, 1634. Contiene, al final cierto *Papel que escribió un caballero castellano a la autora, y respuesta de ésta*. Serrano y Sanz (*Apuntes*, I, 411) dice : « Sospéchase que dicho caballero era Lope de Vega. » Véase acerca de la autora La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 383. Vid. nuestro número 144.

142. Avisos para la muerte, escritos por algunos ingenios de España, *recogidos y publicados por D. Luís Ramírez de Arellano*. Valencia, 1634 (Palau, *Manual*, I, 143; Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, columna 27).

Una composición de Lope (« Cercado de congojas; *O. S.*, XVII, 208) procede de una de las ulteriores ediciones de dicho libro (la de Madrid, 1659) Suponemos que ya figuraría en la *princeps*.

142 bis. Vega (Lope de). *El castigo sin venganza*. Tragedia. Barcelona, 1634 (Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, 468; *O. S.*, VIII, p. xi).

Preceden a esta obra una dedicatoria al Duque de Sessa, y un prólogo, que pueden verse en *O. S.*, VIII, págs. 378-380 y 384, así como también en *B. A. E.*, XXIV, 567).

1635

143. Vega (Lope de). *Pira sacra en la muerte del Excmo. Sr. D. Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba.* Madrid, 1635 (Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, columna 977; Palau, *Manual*, VII, 135).

Es la misma composición que salió después en *La Vega del Parnaso* (vid. nuestro número 147) y que desde esa colección pasó a *O. S.*, X, 468-484. Consta en *O. S.* de 63 octavas (nº 64, como cuentan en la primera edición Gallardo y Palau), así que podría haber sido suprimida alguna. Vid. La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 519.

Podría dudarse de que sea la primera edición del poema, ya que Menéndez y Pelayo (*Obras completas*, XV, 262) señala la defunción de don Gonzalo (que era hermano del mecenas de Lope, Duque de Sessa) en 1631. Garma (*Theatro universal de España*, IV, 100) da como fecha del fallecimiento de cierto don Gonzalo (que creemos sea el mismo de que tratamos) el 16 de febrero de 1645; pero la verdadera fecha es enero de 1635 (*Cartas de Jesuitas*, I, 139, apud *Memorial histórico español*). Vid. también Matías de Novoa, *Historia de Felipe IV*, II, 15.

144. Vega (Lope de). *Filis*, égloga. *A la décima musa doña Bernarda Ferreira de la Cerda, señora portuguesa.* Madrid, 1635 (La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 488).

Volvió a salir en *La Vega del Parnaso* (vid. nº 147) y de allí pasó a *O. S.*, X, 193-211.

144 bis. Carrillo Cerón (Ginés). *Novelas de varios sucesos.* Granada, 1635. Censura de Lope : Madrid, 21 de diciembre de 1632. El autor dedica a Lope una de sus novelas (*Los perros de Mahudes*).

Da razón de esta obra D. Emilio Cotarelo (*Un novelista del siglo XVII*, apud *Boletín de la R. Acad. Española*, XII, 641 y ss.). La dedicatoria a Lope se copia en la pág. 646; pero no así la censura.

144 tripl. GALLEGOS (MANUEL DE). *Templo da Memoria. Poema epithalámico nas felicíssimas bodas do Excmo. Sr. Duque de Braganza.* Lisboa, 1635. Versos de Lope (Gallardo, *Ensayo*, III, columna 8).

145. PACHECO DE NARVÁEZ (D. LUÍS). *Historia trágica y ejemplar de las dos constantes mujeres españolas.* Madrid, 1635 (Cejador, *Historia*, IV, 196-197; Palau, *Manual*, VI, 7).

Un soneto de Lope dedicado a dicho libro (« A la esfera de Marte reservada... ») figura en *O. S.*, XVII, 263.

¿ 1635 ?

145 bis. SANTA ANA (LORENZO DE). *Noches de Navidad.*

Una décima dedicada a este libro (« Noche en que los cielos dora... ») figura en *O. S.*, XVII, 278. No habiendo encontrado noticias acerca de la tal obra en ninguna de las varias bibliografías que he consultado para ello, la incluyo en la fecha de la muerte de Lope.

1636

146. PEREIRA DE CASTRO (GABRIEL). *Ulyssea ou Lisboa edificada, poema heroico.* Lisboa, 1636 (LA BARRERA, *Nueva biografía*, 492).

Un soneto dirigido por Lope al autor y procedente de esta obra (« Lisboa por el Griego edificada... ») está en *O. S.*, XVII, 269; y como salió también en *La Vega del Parnaso* (vid. nº 147) se repite asimismo en *O. S.*, IX, 10. Aquí lleva el título : « *A la muerte de un caballero portugués* (Pereira habia fallecido en 1632). Dice La Barrera que este soneto, así como la silva moral *El Siglo de Oro*, fueron las últimas composiciones que escribió. Las redactó Lope el 23 de agosto de 1635 y murió et 27 del mismo mes. Vid. nº 151.

1637

147. VEGA (LOPE DE). *La Vega del Parnaso.* Madrid, 1637 (La Barrera, *Nueva biografía,* 517).

En *O. S.*, IX, págs. XXVII-XXXIV, y 1-490; y X, págs. 1-583; vid. también *O. S.*, XXI, 192.

La colección de que tratamos fué comenzada a formar en vida de Lope y a instancia de José Ortiz de Villena, según indica éste en su prólogo (*O. S.*, IX, pág. XXXIII). Se terminó su publicación por Luís de Usategui, yerno de Lope, y probablemente también por el dicho Ortiz de Villena. Comprende, además de algunas composiciones ya publicadas, otras de índole dramática. Nos limitaremos a enumerar estas últimas, y en lo relativo a las no dramáticas, indicaremos algunos datos que tenemos reunidos sobre su cronología :

1. *El Siglo de Oro, silva moral.* Es una de las últimas obras de Lope. La escribió el día anterior a aquel en que adoleció de su última enfermedad (vid. *O. S.*, IX, pág. 1).

2. *A la muerte de un caballero portugués. Soneto.* Escrito por Lope cuatro días antes de morir. Había sido ya publicado en 1636 (véase el número 146 de los presentes *Apuntes*).

3. *El guante de doña Blanca. Comedia.*

4. *Al nacimiento del Príncipe,* o sea del futuro Felipe IV, nacido en 1605; poesía que, según parece, había sido publicada ya en dicho año (vid. nuestro número 29).

5. *Egloga panegírica al epigrama del Serenísimo Infante Carlos.* Composición que debió de escribirse y publicarse hacia 1632 (vid. nuestro número 135 *bis*).

6. *Canción que la Congregación de los Sacerdotes naturales de Madrid dedica al Serenísimo Sr. D. Fernando de Austria, infante de España, cardenal de Roma, su protector.* Fué escrita siendo inquisidor general el cardenal Zapata, que fué nombrado a principios de 1627 (Garma, *Theatro universal de España,* IV, 306); y antes de que el Infante-Cardenal aban-

donase a España, en abril de 1632 (Aedo y Gallart, *Viaje*. Madrid, 1637, págs. 4 y 16).

7. *La mayor virtud de un rey. Comedia.*

8. *Versos a la primera fiesta del palacio nuevo.* Lope mismo (pág. 236) indica que la fiesta inauguratoria del palacio del Buen Retiro tuvo lugar en un hermoso día de diciembre (de 1632 : véase Mesonero Romanos, *El antiguo Madrid*. Madrid, 1881, II, 165).

9. *A la venida de Italia a España del Excmo. Sr. Duque de Osuna.* Se trata de don Pedro, tercer duque, el protector de Quevedo, que volvió a España, desde Nápoles, en 1620, y murió en 1624 (Fernández Guerra, en *B. A. E.*, XXIII, pág. LXI).

10. *Eliso, Egloga en la muerte de Paravicino.* El personaje aludido falleció en 1633 (Cejador, *Historia*, IV, 343).

11. *Las bizarrías de Belisa. Comedia.*

12. *Égloga a Claudio.* Cuando se escribió esta composición estaba ya publicado el *Laurel de Apolo* (1630), y no lo estaba aun *La Dorotea* (1632).

Figura en esta composición una enumeración de obras del poeta, análoga a la que Lope había hecho ya en *La Filomena* (vid. el número 74 de los presentes *Apuntes*). Se mencionan : *La Arcadia* (vid. nuestro número 9); *La Dragontea* (id. 10); el *Isidro* (id., 13); *La hermosura de Angélica* (id., 23); las *Rimas* humanas (id., 24); las *Rimas sacras* (id., 53); *El Peregrino en su patria* (id., 26); los *Soliloquios* (id., 46 y 114), los *Pastores de Belem* (id., 47); la *Jerusalem conquistada* (id., 35); los *Triunfos divinos* (id., 108); *La Filomena* (id., 74); *La Virgen de la Almudena* (id., 91 tripl.); *La mañana de San Juan* (id., 92); *La rosa blanca* (id., 92); la *Descripción de la Tapada* (id., 74); *La Andrómeda* (id., 74); las *Novelas* (id., 74 y 92); las *Epístolas* (id., 74, 92 y 127); *El robo de Proserpina* (id., 156 *bis* y 174 *d*); ciertos *Salmos* (en los *Pastores de Belem*, núm. 47 de estos *Apuntes*, y en otras obras :

vid. *O. S.*, XXI, 413); las *Justas poéticas* (id., 71 y 83); ciertas *Rimas* divinas (id., 53 y otros); los *Sonetos a la rosa* (en los *Triunfos divinos*, núm. 108); la *Iságoge* (id., 121); la *Circe* (id., 92); el *Triunfo de la Fe* (id., 65); la *Corona trágica* (id., 118); el *Laurel de Apolo* (id., 127); y por último *La Dorotea*, aun no publicada (id., 133). Véase *O. S.*, IX, 363-367, y *B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, págs. XIII, y 433-434.

13. *Huerto deshecho. Metro lírico. Al Ilustrísimo Sr. D. Luís de Haro.* Se trata del sobrino y sucesor de Olivares, D. Luís Méndez de Haro, que había de ser después primer ministro, y que falleció en 1661 (Garma, *Theatro universal de España*, IV, 105).

14 *A D. Agustín Collado del Hierro, en su libro de las Grandezas de Granada.* Parece que este poema, bajo el título de *Granada*, continúa inédito en un manuscrito de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, en el cual acaso estará también la poesía de Lope incluida en *La Vega del Parnaso*, a que aludimos (vid. Serrano y Sanz, *Apuntes*, II, 8 y 68). Según Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, 396 y 541, el tal poema, inédito, está en la actualidad perdido.

15. *Elogio en la muerte de Juan Blas de Castro.* Véase en el tomo XXI, pág. 192 de las *O. S.*, la dedicatoria de esta poesía. Juan Blas de Castro falleció el 6 de agosto de 1631 (Jesús Aroca, *Cancionero musical y poético de Claudio de la Sablonara*. Madrid, 1918, 331).

16. *Porfiando vence amor. Comedia.*

17. *Oración que hizo en el certamen de los Recoletos agustinos cuando mudaron el Santísimo Sacramento a la capilla mayor nueva.* Contiene buen número de alusiones, que permiten datarla en agosto (vid. *O. S.*, X; págs. 10 y 11) de 1620, fecha en que se concluyó la iglesia del convento de San Agustín, de Recoletos agustinos (Alvarez y Baena, *Compendio histórico de las grandezas de la coronada villa de Madrid*. Madrid, 1786, 133).

18. *Sentimientos a los agravios de Cristo nuestro bien por la Nación hebrea.* Dirigida al príncipe Baltasar Carlos, nacido en 1629, y jurado en 1632. Una alusión de Lope (¿ Porqué me hieres & ?) concuerda con ciertas palabras recordadas por Matías de Novoa (*Historia de Felipe IV*, I, 183) y nos revela que la composición debió de escribirse cuando se descubrió en Madrid, cerca de la casa del caballero de Gracia, una sinagoga. Ello dió lugar a un auto de fé, el 3 de julio de 1632, al que asistiría Lope, en su calidad de familiar de la Inquisición. De esta poesía hay impresión suelta, ya recordada (vid. nuestro número 135).

19. *Canción al beato Francisco de Borja.* Éste fué beatificado por Urbano VIII en 1624, y ello se solemnizó por las Padres Jesuitas, en Madrid, octubre de 1625, con fiestas a las que asistieron los Reyes e Infantes y para las cuales acaso se escribiría esta canción, que también pudo escribirse para las fiestas que un descendiente del Santo, el cardenal D. Baltasar de Moscoso y Sandoval, obispo de Jaén, celebró en Baeza (Alenda y Mira, *Relaciones*, números 858 y 861 a 884).

20. *Soneto a D. Francisco de la Cueva y Silva, habiendo hecho una información en derecho a la limpia concepción de la Virgen nuestra señora.* Este soneto (« Cuando de siempre hidalga se pretende »; *O. S.*, X, 39) ha de ser el mismo a que alude el número 110 de los presentes *Apuntes*, el cual apareció en 1625.

21. *Canción a San Pedro Nolasco.* Supongo que la escribiría nuestro poeta para ciertas fiestas que celebró en Madrid, en abril y mayo de 1629, la orden de la Merced, en honor de San Pedro Nolasco, en las cuales se representó una comedia de Lope (Alenda y Mira, *Relaciones*, números 908 y 922).

22. *Canción en la elección del cardenal Monti.* Le fué concedida la púrpura por Urbano VIII en 1629. Fué nuncio en España (Migne, *Encyclopédie théologique*, tomo XXXI, columna 1249).

23. *Canción al bienaventurado San Juan de Dios.* Estaba ya impresa en 1631 (vid. el número 129 de los presentes *Apuntes*).

24. *El desprecio agradecido. Comedia.*

25. *Amarylis. Égloga.* Impresa ya en 1633 (vid. nuestro número 136).

26. *Phylis. Égloga.* Impresa en 1635 (vid. nuestro número 144).

27. *El amor enamorado. Comedia.*

28. *Iságoge a los Reales Estudios de la Compañía de Jesús.* Estaba ya impresa desde 1629 (vid. nuestro número 121). *Iságoge* equivale a introducción, o discurso preliminar. La inauguración de los Estudios tuvo lugar a principios de 1629 (La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 407 y 519).

29. *Oración que hizo D. Antonio de Otero y Lanoye, en unas conclusiones que tuvo delante de Sus Majestades, siendo niño de doce años.* Alude a Felipe IV e Isabel de Borbón, y ha de ser por tanto posterior a 1621.

30. *Diálogo militar a honor del Excelentísimo Marqués Espínola.* Composición de carácter dramático.

31. *Felicio, Égloga piscatoria en la muerte de D. Lope Félix del Carpio y Luján.* La muerte de este hijo del poeta hubo de ser muy poco anterior a la del mismo Lope. Acaso es uno de los dos disgustos, que un año antes de su muerte le tuvieron « casi rendido a una continua pasión melancólica » (Montalbán, *Fama póstuma*, en *B. A. E.*, XXIV, pág. XII).

32. *La mayor victoria de Alemania, de don Gonzalo de Córdoba.* Comedia.

33. *Pyra sacra en la muerte del Excelentísimo Sr. D. Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba.* Esta composición había sido ya impresa, hacia comienzos de 1635, fecha de la muerte del personaje aludido (vid. nuestro número 143).

34. *Si no vieran las mujeres. Comedia.*

148. CARRILLO (DOCTOR MARTÍN). *Elogios de mujeres*

insignes del Viejo Testamento. Huesca, 1637 (Palau, *Manual*, II, 70).

Según se indica en *O. S.*, XVII, 246-248, figuran en dicho libro seis composiciones de Lope :

1 — « Deseos de ser Dios que se atrevieron ».
2 — « Peregrino Abraham, intenta asilo ».
3 — « Duerme seguro el Nazareno fuerte ».
4 — « Puso Joab al animoso Uriás ».
5 — « Por uno y otro bárbaro soldado »,
6 — « Siendo de amor Susana requerído ».

Pero todas ellas estaban ya publicadas : las tres primeras en los *Triunfos divinos, con otras Rimas sacras* (*O. S.*, XIII, 84-85; vid. nuestro número 108), y por eso las excluyó de las *O. S.*, su colector; pero reeditó en *O. S.*, XVII, 246-248, las tres últimas composiciones, a pesar de que, como he notado, habían sido ya publicadas en los *Pastores de Belem* (año 1612; vid. nuestro número 47) y figuraban ya en *O. S.*, XVI, 58, 136 y 83, respectivamente.

Este doctor Martín Carrillo es el mismo Abad de Montearagón a quien está dirigida la carta de nuestro número 107, la cual debió de salir en el libro de que ahora damos cuenta (vid. Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, nº 2128, pág. 249; Cejador, *Historia*, III, 329-330; y Palau, *Manual*, II, 70).

148 bis. Polo de Medina (Salvador Jacinto). *El buen humor de las Musas.* Madrid, 1637. Aprobación de Lope · Madrid, 2 de octubre de 1630 (se copia en parte). Véase Gallardo, *Ensayo*, III, columna 1244.

1639

149. Colodrero de Villalobos (D. Miguel). *Alfeo y otros asuntos en verso.* Barcelona, 1639. Poesía de Lope (Ramírez de Arellano, *Ensayo de un catálogo*, I, 153-154).

Corresponden a este libro dos redondillas (« De tu Alfeo enamorado... ») que figuran en *O. S.*, XXI, 191.

Vid. nº 124.

150. Funes (Frey don Juan Agustín de). *Crónica de la Religión de San Juan de Jerusalem. Segunda parte.* Zaragoza, 1639 (Palau, *Manual*, III, 286).

Contiene una carta de Lope al autor, fechada en Madrid, a 4 de diciembre de 1632 (*O. S.*, XVII, 297) y unas estancias dirigidas al mismo (« Gloria del Ebro undoso... », *O. S.*, XVII, 298).

151. *Lusíadas* de Luís de Camoens, comentadas por Manuel de Faría y Sousa. Madrid, 1639 (Cejador, *Historia*, IV, 376).

Elogio al comentarista por Lope (en *O. S.*, XVII, 348-386). En la pág. 348 se indica (¿ tomado del libro de que tratamos ?) que Lope escribía este *Elogio* « al tiempo que se murió. Por esto se dejaron algunas claúsulas que estaban imperfectas; y se añadieron otras por Juan Bautista de Sosa... ». Vid. nº 146.

1640

151 bis. Rojas Zorrilla (Don Francisco de). *Primera parte* de sus comedias. Madrid, 1640. Contiene, entre otras, la titulada : *Donde hay agravios, no hay celos* (C. A. de la Barrera, *Catálogo del teatro antiguo español.* Madrid, 1860, pág. 341).

Según D. Adolfo de Castro, en sus notas al tomo XXXII, pág. 544, de la *B. A. E.*, Rojas alude en esa comedia (III, 2) a cierto pasaje de una composición de Lope :

> que, como Lope advertió,
> a ningún hombre se vió
> darle veneno en mondongo,

el cual identificó Castro. Forma parte de un romance que él,

a pesar de todo, pone entre las obras de Góngora. Figura ese romance en el *Romancero general de* 1600, parte IV, folio 112, y en *B. A. E.*, XXXII, 544, y comienza :

> Mil años ha que no canto, / porque ha mil años que lloro
> cuidados del mal pasado, / que han puesto fin a mis tonos .

Y sigue después :

> ¿ Qué cardenal come en Roma / más seguro y más sabroso;
> que nunca a nadie en la tierra / se dió veneno en mondongo ?

Tal expresión parece que hizo fortuna, y hubo de quedar como proverbial. He aquí un personaje de cierta comedia de D. Juan de Matos Fragoso (*El yerro del entendido*, jornada III, en *B. A. E.*, XLVII, 275 *c*), que para satisfacer a su dama, echa sobre sí una porción de juramentos y reniegos. El *gracioso* se apresura a remedarle, y por entre sus burlescos reniegos vemos cruzar el recuerdo del romance de Lope :

> Plegue a Dios, si no te adoro, / que me salpique un cochero
> el día de gala nueva, / y que cuando caiga enfermo
> me pique alevosamente / en una arteria el barbero;
> plegue a Dios que una gallega / me dé en mondongo veneno,
> y que el día de los toros, / antes de ver el encierro,
> me prendan por una deuda, / y que cuando esté durmiendo
> me desvele una gatera / toda una noche de invierno.

Ha de tenerse en cuenta que hay otra versión del romance aludido (en el *Romancero general de* 1600, parte VII, folio 231) que, además de presentar otras variantes de no grande importancia, comienza de manera distinta :

> Todos están mal conmigo, — todos me dicen, chismoso,

en el cual figura también el pasaje mencionado :

> ¿ Qué cardenal come en Roma — más dulce, ni más sabroso,
> pues nunca, a nadie en el mundo — se dió veneno en mondongo.

Además, en el mismo *Romancero general* de 1600 (parte III, folio 47) hay otro romance, atribuido a Lope (*O. S.*, XVII, 425; *B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, 251), que comienza análogamente:

> Mil años ha que no canto — porque ha mil años que lloro
> trabajos de mi destierro — que fueran de muerte en otros;

pero en éste no hay pasaje ninguno relacionado con aquel otro:

> ¿ Qué cardenal come en Roma & ?

La afirmación terminante de Rojas y el hecho de constituir ese romance una parodia del otro (procedente de la parte III) que es evidentemente de Lope, nos inclinan a atribuirlo también a éste.

No ocultaremos que dos antiguos anotadores del *Romancero* (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, nº 891) atribuyen a Góngora un romance « Mil años ha que no canto », que ha de ser, probablemente, el del folio 112 y no el del folio 47. Pero los tales anotadores pudieron equivocarse en esa ocasión, como se equivocaron en otras. El Sr. Foulché-Delbosc (*Obras de Góngora*, III, 132) excluye el tal romance en su reciente edición.

Véase también el *Discurso acerca de las costumbres públicas y privadas de los españoles en el siglo XVII*, por D. Adolfo de Castro. Madrid, 1881, págs. 94-95.

1642

152. Gracián (Baltasar). *Arte de ingenio*. Madrid, 1642. Esta obra fué refundida, y publicada bajo el título de *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*, en Huesca, 1648 (Palau, *Manual*, III, 390; Cejador, *Historia*, V, 141). No siéndonos conocida esta primera redacción de la obra, nos remitimos a nuestro nú-

mero 154, para las poesías de Lope que contiene la segunda redacción y que suponemos contendría, a lo menos en gran parte, la primera.

1643

153. NIEREMBERG (EL PADRE JUAN EUSEBIO). *Diferencia entre lo temporal y lo eterno*. Barcelona, 1643 (Palau, *Manual*, V, 300).

Al final de una edición de este libro (la de Madrid, 1765; véase *O. S.*, XVII, 217-221) y supongo que también en esta primera edición, se hallan, atribuidas a Lope (véase *B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, 285, nota), las famosas décimas : « ¡Oh tú que estás sepultado... », que han sido atribuidas también a Calderón (vid. *B. A. E.*, XIV, 729), ya que como de éste fueron publicadas en las *Varias centellas de amor divino*, recogidas por D. Juan Nuñez de Velasco, Madrid, 1656.

Figuran en *O. S.*, lugar citado, y, sean o no de Calderón, es casi seguro que no son de Lope.

153 bis. VILLAMEDIANA (D. JUAN DE TARSIS — *sic* — CONDE DE). *Obras*. Madrid, 1643. Aprobación de Lope (sin fecha : los demás preliminares son de 1634-1635). Véase Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, columna 685.

1648

154. GRACIÁN (BALTASAR). *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*. Huesca, 1648 (vid. nuestro número 152). Esta segunda redacción contiene buen número de poesías de Lope, muchas de ellas integramente y algunas otras en fragmentos. He consultado la edición de la *Agudeza &* que figura (II, 1-395) en las *Obras de Lorenzo* [en realidad Baltasar] *Gracián*. Madrid, 1773, 2 vols. Indicaré primeramente el verso inicial, después la página del tomo II de la edición de 1773 y por último el tomo y página de *O. S.* :

1 —	Cuelgan racimos de ángeles que enrizan .	9 —	XIII, 202
2 —	Oh engaño de los hombres, vida breve. . .	35 —	id., 211
3 —	Suspenso está Absalón entre las ramas. .	37 —	IV , 241
4 —	Antonio, si los peces sumergidos;	48 —	XIII, 216
5 —	¡ Qué bien se echa de ver, divino Diego. .	51 —	id., 213
6 —	¡ Con que artificio tan divino sales. . . .	77 —	id., 193
7 —	Sangrienta la quijada que por ellas . . .	94 —	IV, 278
8 —	Celebran Viejo y Nuevo Testamento. . .	98 —	XIII, 210
9 —	Pusieron los belígeros gigantes.	105 —	id, 217
10 —	Esta cabeza, cuando viva tuvo	111 —	id., 196
11 —	Por ver si queda en su furor deshecho . .	134 —	IV, 237
12 —	Ahora creer y en razón lo fundo (3 versos solamente).	138 —	I, 468
13 —	Josef ¿ cómo podrá tener gobierno ? . . .	143 —	XIII, 224
14 —	No espanta al sabio, ni ha de ser temida.	166 —	id, 224
15 —	Como a muerto me echais tierra en la cara	173 —	IV, 208
16 —	¿ Cómo es po ible que di bueno den ? . .	177 —	XIII, 209
17 —	Más que desta losa fria.	182 —	IV, 394
18 —	Es la mujer del hombre lo más bueno . .	192 —	id., 285
19 —	Peregrino Abraham intenta asilo, ...	249 —	XIII, 84
20 —	Puso Joab al animoso Urías.	255 —	XVI, 58
21 —	Halló Baco la parra provechosa.	286 —	IV, 256
22 —	Duerme seguro el Nazareno fuerte. . . .	291 —	XIII, 85
23 —	Deseos de ser Dios que se atrevieron. . .	308 —	id., 84

Todas estas poesías, con excepción de la número 12, se incluyen integramente. Fragmentos de menor importancia se citan también en las págs. 22, 25, 29, 36, 37, 101, 126, 179, 284, 311, 313, 314 y 342.

En cuanto al soneto nº 18 (« Es la mujer & »), el texto de Gracián no procede de *Los doscientos sonetos*, sino probablemente de las *Flores de poetas ilustres* (vid. nº 30).

Proceden de las *Rimas sacras*, de 1614, las composiciones nºs 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14 y 16; de los *Doscientos sonetos*, de 1602, las nºs 3, 7, 11, 15 y 21; de *La Filomena*, 1621, la nº 12; de las *Rimas*, segunda parte, de 1604, la nº 17; de las *Flores*, de 1605, la nº 18; de los *Triunfos* y *Rimas*, de

1625, los nos 19, 22 y 23; y de los *Pastores de Belem*, de 1612, la nº 20.

1654

155. *Poesías varias de grandes ingenios españoles, recogidas por Josef Alfay.* Zaragoza, 1654 (Salvá, *Catálogo*, nº 328).

Una décima, atribuida a Lope, dirigida : « A un poeta corcovado que se valió de trabajos ajenos » [Ruiz de Alarcón], la cual comienza : « Pedirme en tal relación... », figura en *O. S.*, XXI, 187, así como en *B. A. E.*, XX, págs. XXXII y XXXIII; y LII, págs. 587-588.

1664

155 bis. SANTA MARÍA (FRAY LUÍS DE). *Octava sagradamente culta... &* Madrid, 1664 (Palau, *Manual*, VI, 449).

En *O. S.*, XVII, se copian, atribuyéndolas a Lope, varias composiciones :

1 — « Austria quis posset celebrare Poeta Macarron » (pag. 330).
2 — « Dos glorias satisfacen al pobrete » (p. 331).
3 — « La ciudad yerma, poblado el desierto » (p. 332-333).
4 — « De dos reyes Salomones » (p. 334-335).
5 — « Si a Laurencio y Dios aplico » (p. 336-337).
6 — « Las maravillas que el Tíbere » (p. 338-341).
7 — « Filis, gran día de arroz » (p. 342-344).

Todas esas composiciones proceden del libro de que tratamos, en el cual (*O. S.*, XVII, 325-329) no se dan por obras de Lope, sino por imitaciones de las poesías burlescas que el poeta hizo bajo el nombre de Tomé de Burguillos. Solamente por extraña inadvertencia pudo dárseles cabida en *O. S.*

1670 o 1678

156. Arcos (Fray Francisco de). *Vida y preciosa muerte del V. P. M. F. Simón de Rojas.* Madrid, 1678. La primera edición es de Madrid, 1670, según Palau, *Manual*, I, 100. Vid. también *O. S.*, XVII, 207.

De la edición de 1678 procede el soneto : « Dos serafines, celestial porfía », que está en *O. S.* (*loc. cit*), el cual había sido ya publicado por Lope en los *Triunfos divinos, con otras Rimas sacras*, de 1625; y por ello figuraba ya reproducido en *O. S.*, XIII, 99. Vid. nº 108.

El P. Simón de Rojas falleció hacia septiembre de 1624. Era confesor de la Reina doña Isabel de Borbón. Como la composición de Lope compendia cierto sermón, predicado en las honras de Rojas por fray Esteban de la Concepción, data sin duda de 1624 (vid. Pérez Pastor, *B. M.* números 2009 y 2045; Almansa y Mendoza, *Cartas*, 304). Véase también la introducción que puso Menéndez y Pelayo a la comedia de Lope : *La niñez del Padre Rojas.*

1672

156 bis. Antonio (Nicolás). *Bibliotheca hispana nova.* Roma, 1672 (vid. R. Foulché-Delbosc y L. Barrau-Dihígo, *Manuel de l'hispanisant*, I, números 300-303; Cejador, *Historia*, V, 225).

La grande obra de D. Nicolás Antonio comprende también, naturalmente, un largo artículo dedicado a Lope (edición de Madrid, 1788, II, 74-79). La enumeración que en él se hace de las obras del poeta no ofrece interés especial para nuestro objeto, salvo en los puntos que vamos a detallar a continuación :

El robo de Proserpina. Véase lo que decimos sobre esta

traducción de Claudiano en nuestros números 147, 174 *d* y 204 *bis*.

Catorce romances a la pasión de Cristo N. S. La enumeración de D. Nicolás Antonio comprende obras sin indicación de lugar, fecha y tamaño de la impresión, al lado de otras seguidas de estas indicaciones. *El robo de Proserpina*, *La rosa blanca*, y *La mañana de San Juan* que se siguen, por este orden, no tienen referencia alguna a esos datos, y ello se explica, por tratarse en el primer caso de una obra nunca impresa, y en los otros dos de obras incluidas en una colección que lleva el nombre de otra obra de mayor importancia (*La Circe :* vid. nuestro número 92). Los *catorce* romances, que siguen inmediatamente, sí que fueron impresos (en Cuenca, Salvador Viader, 1620, en 16º), según Nicolás Antonio. Estos catorce romances han de ser algunos de los que en número algo mayor (diez y ocho) salieron dedicados a la Pasión en las *Rimas sacras* (vid. nuestro número 53) y de allí pasaron al *Romancero espiritual* (id., núm. 68). Vid. nuestros números 73 *cuadrupl.*, 174 y 204 *bis*.

Relación de las fiestas de Lerma. Si se alude al poema de nuestro número 48 (que no es de Lope), y no a alguna otra relación de dichas fiestas (que podría serlo), resultaría esta falsificación de un tiempo anterior a Nicolás Antonio.

Epítome de su vida. Desconocemos el escrito de Lope a que alude Nicolás Antonio, sin dar indicación alguna respecto de que estuviese impreso. Acaso se trataba de un manuscrito.

Rimas de Burguillos. Las incluye entre las obras de Lope.

1685

157. Salazar y Castro (D. Luís de). *Historia genealógica de la casa de Silva.* Madrid, 1685 (Cejador, *Historia*, V, 130).

De dicho libro procede el soneto : « ¿ Quién llora aqui ? — Tres somos; quita el manto », que está en *O. S.*, XVII,

284. Ya figuraba en *O. S.*, IV, 239, tomado de *Los doscientos sonetos* (vid. nuestro número 23), y está destinado a lamentar la temprana muerte del segundo duque de Pastrana don Rodrigo de Silva, fallecido a principios de 1596 (vid. *O. S.*, XVII, 284, y Cabrera, *Felipe II*, tomo IV, 157-158).

1736

157 bis. VEGA (LOPE DE). *La Dorotea, acción en prosa.* Octava impresión. Madrid, « a costa de D. Pedro Josef Alonso y Padilla, Librero de Cámara de S. M. », 2 tomos, 1736. (La primera edición de esta obra se halla reseñada en nuestro número 133.)

Al final del tomo I y al comienzo del II, en hojas sin paginación, el editor « da noticia a los curiosos de las obras que ha visto de Lope de Vega Carpio ». La enumeración que sigue carece de interés para nosotros en la mayor parte de los casos, ya sea por tratarse de obras mencionadas por Lope en *La Filomena*, o en la *Egloga a Claudio* (vid. nuestros números 74 y 147), o por aludirse a otras de carácter dramático. Señalaremos únicamente la inclusión de las *Rimas* y *Gatomaquia*, publicadas bajo el seudónimo de Burguillos (vid. nuestro número 140), que más adelante se habían de incluir también en las *O. S.* Estaba aun lejana de nacer la absurda opinión que las había de adjudicar a un poeta Burguillos, distinto de Lope. Se mencionan asimismo : « 2 *Rimas varias* », y una de ellas podría ser la colección aludida en nuestro número 158, que entonces sería anterior a 1730. Termina la *noticia* de Alonso y Padilla diciendo : « También tuve de Lope de Vega otro tratado en octavo, eran unos romances algo dilatados, el cual me le prestó para copiarle un caballero del hábito de Santiago, que se llamó don Pedro de Acevedo, corregidor que fué de Jerez, y tan apasionado a las obras de Lope, que de cuantos curiosos he tratado,

ninguno llegó a tener tantas juntas como el referido don Pedro ». La colección aludida (entendemos que se trata de un impreso) podría ser alguna de las tres aludidas en nuestros nómeros 68, 73 *cuadr.* y 175 *quintupl.*

¿ 1747 ?

158. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Varias Rimas sacras* (sin lugar ni año : ¿ Madrid ? hacia 1747, según Cerdà y Rico, en *O. S.*, XIII, folio VII vuelto ; Madrid, a mediados del siglo XVIII, según La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 608 ; Salvá, *Catálogo*, nº 1041, cree que este libro puede ser anterior a 1747).

Las dichas *Rimas* están en *O. S.*, XIII, 441-454.

Se atribuye su publicación a un extrañísimo personaje de mediados del siglo XVIII, el Conde de Saceda, a quien se responsabiliza (no sé si con pruebas suficientes ; vid. E. Juliá Martínez, en *R. F. E.*, VI, 1919, 186-190) de varias otras falsificaciones análogas :

a) De reimprimir hacia 1746 las *Fiestas de Denia*, de Lope, dejando en la portada la fecha de 1599 (vid. *O. S.*, III, pág. III).

b) De publicar las *Poesías varias*, de Lope (vid. nuestro número 160 y *O. S.*, III, pág. III) ; entre las cuales casi todas son conocidamente de López de Zárate.

c) De reimprimir hacia 1747 el *Triúnfo de la Fé* dejando la fecha y lugar de la edición *princeps* (Madrid, 1618) en la portada (*O. S.*, XVII, pág. VI).

d) De falsificar asimismo la primera edición de la *Gramática* de Nebrija (vid. Conde de la Viñaza, *Biblioteca histórica de la Filología Castellana*, pág. 189).

Pero, sea o no Saceda, no puede dudarse de que alguien (a quien puede achacarse asimismo aquella otra superchería de las *Fiestas de Lerma ;* vid. nuestro número 48), anduvo ocupado, por móviles que no aparecen claros (¿ interés,

capricho, manía ?) en falsificar obras de Lope (vid. nuestros números 160, 195 *bis* y otros).

Por ello, y no siendo conocidas por otro conducto como obras de Lope, deben quedar estas poesías con nota de sospechosas. Acaso son de López de Zárate (vid. nuestro número 160).

159. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Fiestas de Denía*. Valencia, 1612. Edición *contrahecha* en el siglo XVIII, a que acabamos de aludir en el número anterior (vid. nuestro número 48). La suponemos de fecha próxima a la de dicho nº 158. Véase nuestro número 156 *bis*.

¿ 1750 ?

160. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Poesías varias* (sin lugar ni año). Colección que se dice impresa por el Conde de Saceda a mediados del siglo XVIII (vid. *O. S.*, III, págs. III-IV, así como los núms. 158, 195 *bis* y otros de los presentes *Apuntes*).

Está reimpresa en *O. S.*, III, 433-508, y contiene las poesías cuyo primer verso se señala a continuación, indicándose también las páginas en que se copia cada una de ellas en *O. S.*, III :

1 — « Bien muestras, gran Felipe, lo que espera » (433).
2 — « Celestial, invisible compañero » (435).
3 — « No aprisiones los bienes soberanos » (437).
4 — « Despuebla el viento de aves con tus redes » (439).
5 — « Despliega el imperioso sobrecejo» (440).
6 — « Estas las cosas son que hacen la vida » (441).
7 — « Esta a quien ya se le atrevió el arado » (442).
8 — « Ia cuando el sol en sombras se volvía » (443).
9 — « Brota diluvios la soberbia fuente » (443).
10 — « Celia, pues en tus ojos los humanos » (444).
11 — « Filis, alma del alma, tu hermosura » (445).
12 — « Ciego a quien faltan ojos y no llanto » (446).
× 13 — « Llegó Celia a beber : ¡ dichosa fuente ! » (447).

14 — « Orgulloso arroyuelo a quien ha dado » (448).
15 — « Ruinas son las que miras, caminante » (449).
16 — « ¡ Cuanto debes, Amor, a aquellos ojos ! » (449).
17 — « Ingratos canes, para mí dañosos » (450).
× 18 — « Ahora vuelvo a templaros » (451).
× 19 — « Dulce señora mía, a quien notorio... » (455).
× 20 — « En la hora postrimera... » (458).
× 21 — « Besando siete cabezas... » (461).
22 — « Arboles, compañeros de estos ríos... » (465).
23 — « Frondoso, ya nos llaman los indicios... » (483).

El colector de las *O. S.* (o sea Cerdá y Rico), no queriendo omitir nada de lo que salió en nombre » del gran poeta, las incluyó en su colección, aunque no sin advertir que con excepción de las que hemos señalado con los números 8 a 10, 13, y 18 a 21, todas las demás se imprimieron en Alcalá, 1651, entre las de Francisco López de Zárate. « Pudiéramos decir — añade — que eran de Lope y que se prohijaron a Zárate... si no lo impidiera la diversidad de estilo » (*O. S.*, III, prólogo).

Al publicar en 1856 don Cayetano Rosell su *Colección escogida de obras no dramáticas*, de Lope de Vega, tomo XXXVIII de la *B. A. E.*, incluyó en ella las composiciones señaladas con los números 1, 3 a 5, 7, 15, 18, 19, 22 y 23, señalando su procedencia de las *Poesías varias* (vid. *B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, 526 *b*) y sin hacer en ningún caso las prudentes salvedades y aclaraciones que había hecho Cerdá y Rico, no obstante que ocho de esas poesías (todas, con excepción de los números 18 y 19) figuraban entre las que Cerdá declaraba que habían sido publicadas a nombre de López de Zárate.

Pues bien, casi todas esas composiciones puede probarse que pertenecen en realidad a Francisco López de Zárate, como del cual se publicaron algunas entre sus *Varias poesías*, Madrid, 1619 (libro que se notará, como detalle importante, que lleva una aprobación de Lope: vid. nuestro número 70),

y otras en la segunda edición, ampliada, que bajo el título de *Obras varias* salió a luz en Alcalá, 1651.

Desgraciadamente no he podido tener a mano una descripción bien detallada de ambas ediciones y he debido contentarme con los sucintos datos que de la de 1619 trae Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, nº 1606 (de los cuales surje, por cierto, la duda de que las *Rimas sacras* incluidas en las *Varias poesías*, sean las mismas atribuidas a Lope según nuestro número 158). A falta de esa descripción bibliográfica, he recogido buen número de testimonios parciales :

a) Ya dijimos que en *O. S.*, III, prólogo, se manifiesta que *todas* las composiciones recordadas, *con excepción* de las números 8 a 10, 13, y 18 a 21, se imprimieron en Alcalá, 1651, como de Francisco López de Zárate.

b) Dos de esas composiciones, las nºs 7 y 22, son evidentísimamente de López de Zárate. El propio Lope lo declara así en obras suyas, que figuran por cierto en las colecciones de Cerdá y de Rosell (vid. *B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, 146 y 198, y *O. S.*, XI, 350 y I, 60; así como los números 180 *bis*, 195 *bis* y 212 de estos *Apuntes*).

c) Gracián, en su *Agudeza y Arte de Ingenio* (vid. nuestro número 154), copia como de López de Zárate las poesías números 7 y 9 (páginas 76 y 257 del tomo II de la edición en dicho número citada).

d) Alenda y Mira, en sus *Relaciones* (vid. nuestro número 187) atestigua que la composición nº 1 se halla en las *Varias poesías*, citadas, de 1619.

e) Menéndez y Pelayo en su *Antología de poetas líricos*, XIII, págs. 369-370 (vid. nuestro número 190 *bis*) asevera que la poesía número 8 está en las *Varias poesías* de 1619 (pág. 78) y en las *Obras varias* de 1651 (pág. 17), así como que otras dos, números 9 y 10, corresponden también a López de Zárate.

Las exclusiones ya sugeridas por Cerdá y Rico se amplian,

pues, a las poesías las números 8 a 10, y sólo quedan por *desatribuir* a Lope las números 13, y 18 a 21, marcadas con (×) en la lista precedente.

Una de esas poesías, la número 18 (romance : « Ahora vuelvo a templaros »), es casí seguramente de Lope, a quien se encuentra atribuida en cierto manuscrito de principios del siglo XVII (vid. nuestros números 181 *tripl.* y 210) y con cuyos demás romances, recogidos en el tomo XVII de *O. S.*, mantiene estrecha y evidente relación. Notaremos de paso que es la misma composición que con diferente comienzo : « Otra vez vuelvo a templaros » figura en los *Romancerillos de Pisa* (vid. núm. 209) bajo el número 61 y en los *Romancerillos de la Ambrosiana* (vid. núm. 200) bajo el nº 4.

Otra composición, la número 13, menciona a una cierta Celia, que es el nombre poético de una de las numerosas amadas de Lope, celebrada por él reiteradamente en *La Arcadia ;* pero est el caso que también está mencionada una Celia en la poesía número 10, que ya hemos visto corresponde a López de Zárate.

Respecto de las composiciones números 20 y 21, véase lo que dijimos en el número 15 de estos *Apuntes*. La número 21 no es de Lope, en opinión de Menéndez y Pelayo (vid. *Obras completas*, XII, 290).

Hasta que aparezcan más pruebas, debemos, pues, desconfiar de la autenticidad de las cuatro poesías (números 13, 19, 20 y 21) cuya atribución a Lope se basa en un testimonio único y tan sospechoso.

El romance « Agora vuelvo a templaros » figura como anónimo en el *Romancero general* de 1600 (parte III, folio 54 v.)

Véanse nuestros números 48, 70, 158, 159, 180 *bis*, 187, 195 bis, 197 *bis* y 213.

1768-1778

161. [López de Sedano (Juan José)]. *Parnaso español*, 9 tomos. Madrid, 1768-1778.

Contiene esta colección buen número de poesías de Lope, todas ellas publicadas ya con anterioridad (vid. : I, 100-122; 323-326; 361-370; II, 207-306; III, 1-85; IV, 23-48, 99, 265, esta última dándola por anónima y con variantes; VII, 99-132, 220; VIII, 121-150; y IX, 360-368). Inclúyese también, desglosándola por primera vez de la comedia « *La Niña de Plata* », la famosa poesía :

Un soneto me manda hacer Violante.

Se reconoce (tomo I, pág. xxxi del *Indice*) que Tomé de Burguillos es seudónimo de Lope.

1776-1779

162. Vega Carpio (Frey Lope Félix de). *Colección de las obras sueltas así en prosa como en verso*. Madrid, *Sancha*, 21 tomos, 1776-1779.

Esta es la gran colección, dirigida por D. Francisco Cerdá y Rico, a que ya aludimos en el comienzo de nuestro trabajo. Gallardo (*El Criticón*, número 1, al final) atestigua que no obtuvo el éxito comercial que merecía. Veamos su contenido :

Tomo I — 1776.

1 — *Laurel de Apolo* (vid. nuestro nº 127), págs. xxi-xxxvii y 1-276.
2 — Epístolas de *La Circe* (vid. nº 92), págs. 279-409.
3 — Epístolas de *La Filomena* (vid. nº 74), págs. 410-517.
4 — Tabla alfabética de los poetas celebrados en el *Laurel* (obra del colector), págs. 519-530.

Tomo II — 1776.

1 — *La hermosura de Angélica* (vid. nº 23), págs. XI-XXII y 1-370.
2 — *La Filomena; Descripción de la Tapada; La Andrómeda* (vid. nº 74); págs. 373-521.

Tomo III — 1776

1 — *La Circe; La mañana de San Juan; La rosa blanca* (vid. nuestro nº 92), págs. V-XII y 1-164.
2 — *La Dragontea* (vid. nuestro nº 10), págs. 165-373.
3 — *Fiestas de Denia* (vid. nuestro nº 14), págs. 375-429.
4 — *Poesías varias* (vid. nº 160), págs. 433-508.

Tomo IV — 1776.

1 — *Corona trágica* (vid. nº 118), págs. XV-XXV y 1-162.
2 — *Los doscientos sonetos* (vid. nº 23), págs. 163-290 y XI-XII.
3 — *Rimas, parte II* (vid. nº 24), págs. 291-402.
4 — *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* (vid. nº 36), págs. 403-417.
5 — *Poesías varias y papel de la nueva poesía*, de *La Filomena* (vid. nº 74), págs. 419-482).
6 — *Poesías varias*, de la *Corona trágica* (vid. nº 118); págs. 483-512.
7 — *Cuestión sobre el honor debido a la poesía*, de *Los doscientos sonetos* (vid. nº 23), págs. 513-522.

Tomo V — 1776.

El Peregrino en su patria (vid. nº 26), págs. V-XXXII y 1-463.

Tomo VI — 1777.

La Arcadia (vid. nº 9), págs. XXVII-XXXVIII y 1-502.

Tomo VII — 1777.

La Dorotea (vid. nº 133), págs. VII-XIV y 1-463.

Tomo VIII — 1777.

1 — *Las fortunas de Diana*, de *La Filomena* (vid. nº 74), págs. 1-67.
2 — *El desdichado por la honra; La más prudente venganza* (por

La prudente venganza); *Guzmán el Bravo;* de *La Circe* (vid. nº 92), págs. 68-219.

3 — *Las dos venturas sin pesar; El pronóstico cumplido; La quinta de Laura; El celoso hasta morir* (novelas que se imprimieron juntas con las 4 precedentes en Zaragoza, 1649, y Barcelona, 1650; pero que no hay razón para creer que sean de Lope), págs. 220-371.

4 — *El castigo sin venganza* (que, como obra dramática que es, excede de nuestro objeto), págs. 379-487.

Tomo IX — 1777.

La Vega del Parnaso. Primera parte (vid. nº 147), págs. XXVII-XXXIV y 489. Véase: *O. S.*, XXI, 192. — Contiene también obras dramáticas.

Tomo X — 1777.

La Vega del Parnaso. Parte segunda (vid. nº 147), págs. 1-582. Contiene asimismo obras dramáticas.

Tomo XI — 1777.

1 — *El Isidro* (vid. nº 13), págs. XIII-XXX y 1-336.

2 — *Justa poética de la beatificación de San Isidro* (vid. nº 71), págs. 339-616.

Tomo XII — 1777.

Relación de las fiestas de la canonización de San Isidro (vid. nºs 82 y 83), págs. IX-LXXIV y 1-426.

Tomo XIII — 1777.

1 — *Triunfos divinos, con otras Rimas sacras* (vid. nº 108), págs. XI-XXI y 1-160.

2 — *Rimas sacras* (vid. nº 53), págs. 163-439.

3 — *Varias rimas sacras;* que acaso no son de Lope (vid. nº 158), págs. 441-454.

4 — *Contemplativos discursos* (vid. nº 49), págs. 455-470.

5 — *Cuatro soliloquios* (vid. nº 46), págs. 471-484.

6 — *Forma breve de rezar...* (vid. nº 39), págs. 485-500.

Tomo XIV — 1777.

Jerusalem conquistada (vid. nº 35), libros I-XII, y notas del autor; págs. VII-XXXVI y 1-555.

Tomo XV — 1777.

1 — *Jerusalem conquistada* (vid. nº 35), libros XIII-XX y notas del autor; págs. 1-399.
2 — *La Virgen de la Almudena* (vid. nºs 91 tripl. y 108), págs. 401-441.
3 — *Romancero espiritual* (vid. nº 68), págs. 445-448.
4 — *Letania y oraciones* (vid. nº 68), que acaso no son de Lope; págs. 487-500.

Tomo XVI — 1778.

Pastores de Belem (vid. nº 47), págs. XI-XX y 1-473.

Tomo XVII — 1778.

1 — *Soliloquios amorosos* (vid. nº 114); págs. XI-XXI y 1-93.
2 — *Triunfo de la Fé* (vid. nº 65); págs. 95-204.
3 — *Dos serafines &* (soneto ya publicado, nº 108; vid. nº 156); pág. 207.
4 — *Cercado de congojas &* (vid. nº 142); págs. 208-216.
5 — *Oh tú, que estás &* (décimas que probablemente no son de Lope; vid. nº 153); págs. 217-221.
6 — *Canta Camargo &* (vid. nº 120); pág. 222.
7 — *Lector, no hay silaba &* (vid. nº 120); págs. 223-224.
8 — *La estrella de Anticquia &* (vid. nº 37); págs. 225-226.
9 — *Historiador sagrado* (vid. nº 25); págs. 227-230.
10 — *Platón muriendo &* (vid. nº 59); págs. 231-244.
11 — *Andreas excedens &* (vid. nº 44); pág. 245.
12 — *Divitiis animi &* (vid. nº 64); pág. 245.
13 — *Puso Joab &; Por uno y otro &; Siendo de amor &* (sonetos ya publicados : nº 47 de estos Apuntes; vid. nº 148); págs. 246-248.
14 — *En alabanza de la poesía* (prosa); a Soto de Rojas (vid. nº 90); págs. 249-252.
15 — *Si desterrar se merece &* (vid. nº 55); pág. 253.
16 — *Este del fuego &* (vid. nº 134); págs. 254-255.
17 — *De la flecha &* (vid. nº 62); pág. 256.

18 — *Florido espino &* (vid. nº 5); pág. 257.
19 — *Hizo Naturaleza &* (vid. nº 77); pág. 258.
20 — *Con menos difícil &* (vid. nº 80); pág. 259.
21 — *Al sol en cuyos rayos &* (vid. nº 104); pág. 260.
22 — *Tu dulce voz &* (vid. nº 122); pág. 261.
23 — *Un gran Cortés &* (vid. nº 19); pág. 262.
24 — *A la esfera de Marte &* (vid. nº 145); pág. 262.
25 — *Buen republico es aquel &* (vid. nº 41); pág. 264.
26 — *Peregrina erudición &* (vid. nº 98); pág. 264.
27 — *Dió Apolo, como al griego &* (vid. nº 97); pág. 265.
28 — *Sale la Aurora &* (vid. nº 124); pág. 266.
29 — *Carta a P. Verdugo* (vid. nº 60); pág. 267.
30 — *Desprecia invicto &* (vid. nº 132); pág. 268 (repetido, pág. 399).
31 — *Lisboa por el Griego &* (vid. nº 146); pág. 269.
32 — *Carta al Abad &* (vid. nº 107); págs. 270-271.
33 — *Carta a Ximénez Patón* (vid. nº 125); pág. 272.
34 — *Si a saber la ciencia &* (repetición : vid. págs. 347 y 273).
35 — *Este mesón de las &* (vid. nº 131); pág. 274.
36 — *No es este el don &* (vid. nº 12); pág. 275.
37 — *El cristiano valor &* (vid. nº 12); pág. 276.
38 — *No cupiera en la osadia &* (vid. nº 139); pág. 277.
39 — *Noche en que los cielos &* (vid. nº 145 *bis*); pág. 278.
40 — *Alegres nuevas &* (vid. nº 1); pág. 279.
41 — *Como de la antigüedad &* (vid. nº 78); pág. 280.
42 — *Los que más fama &* (vid. nº 72); pág. 281.
43 — *Este libro &* (vid. nº 11); pág. 283.
44 — *¿ Quien llora & ?* (vid. nº 157); pág. 284 (repetido; IV, 239).
45 — *Con tierna edad &* (vid. nº 94); pág. 285.
46 — *Si tanto os quereis &* (vid. nº 91); pág. 286.
47 — *Josef canta &* (vid. nº 105); pág. 287.
48 — *Rindió por los primeros &* (vid. nº 96); pág. 290.
49 — *Fénix tercera vez &* (vid. nº 123); pág. 292.
50 — *Ofrezcan a su ingenio &* (vid. nº 130); pág. 294.
51 — *Carta a Funes* (vid. nº 150); pág. 297.
52 — *Gloria del Ebro &* (vid. nº 150); págs. 298-299.
53 — *Carta a F. de las Cuevas* (vid. nº 117); págs. 300-303.
54 — *Si cuanto fué posible & ;* Elogio de Lope (*por Carducho*); Dicho y deposición & (de Lope) (vid. nº 138); págs. 304-318.
55 — *Hermosas plantas & ; Plantas sin fruto & ; Adiós, solteras & ; Sentado en esta peña & ; Con el tiempo & ; Dime, Esperanza &* (vid. nº 30); págs. 319-324.

56 — Siete composiciones que salieron en *Octava sagradamente culta... &* por fray Luís de Santa María, las cuales se dan en *O. S.* por obra de Lope, y no lo son (vid. nº 155 *bis*); págs. 325-344.

57 — *Aquí con hado fatal...* (décima), y *Al que sobró de buen entendimiento...* (soneto). Ambas composiciones, dedicadas a la muerte de Villamediana, no habían sido impresas antes y procedían de un manuscrito, que se indica; págs. 345-346.

58 — *Si a saber la ciencia &* (vid. nº 52); págs. 347 y 273.

59 — *Elogio a Faría* (en prosa); vid. nº 151; págs. 348-386.

60 — *A las bodas & ; Hombre soy &* (vid. nº 15); págs. 387-396.

61 — *Protógenes, después &* (vid. nº 17); pág. 397.

62 — *Censura o aprobación* de un libro de Pellicer, y soneto (*Desprecia invicto &*) en el mismo (vid. nº 132); págs. 398-399. El soneto está repetido en la pág. 268.

63 — *Oh palabras de Dios, cuanta ventaja...* (soneto); *Lope dice, Señor, que a vuestro abuelo...* (soneto; *Carta* al Conde de Lemos; *Otra carta* al mismo; los sonetos y las cartas estaban hasta entonces inéditos (vid. *O. S.*, XVII, pág. IX); las cartas proceden de un ms. de la biblioteca de Mayáns; págs. 400-404.

Siguen después treinta y seis composiciones (romances y redondillas) procedentes del *Romancero general*, de 1604 y 1614 :

64 — *Amada pastora mía ;* pág. 407.

65 — *Por las riberas famosas ;* pág. 409.

66 — *De una recia calentura ;* pág. 411.

67 — *Sentado en la seca hierba ;* pág. 412.

68 — *Contemplando estaba Filis ;* pág. 414.

69 — *De ver una escura cueva ;* pág. 416.

70 — *El tronco de ovas vestido ;* pág. 418.

71 — *Este traidor instrumento ;* pág. 420.

72 — *Llenos de lágrimas tristes ;* pág. 423.

73 — *Mil años ha que no canto ;* pág. 425.

74 — *Ligado en el duro yugo ;* pág. 428.

75 — *Cuando yo peno de veras ;* pág. 430.

76 — *Cuando entendí que tenía ;* pág. 433.

77 — *Mirando está las cenizas ;* pág. 434.

78 — *Mirando estaba Lisardo ;* pág. 436.

79 — *Hería el Sol a las cumbres ;* pág. 438.

80 — *Después que acabó Belardo ;* pág. 440.

81 — *Apolo con su laurel;* pág. 442.
82 — *Oidme, señor Belardo;* pág. 445.
83 — *Hortelano era Belardo;* pág. 447.
84 — *Dulce Filis, si me esperas;* pág. 450 (redondillas).
85 — *Al pié de un roble escarchado;* pág. 451.
86 — *De pechos sobre una torre;* pág. 453.
87 — *Mirando está de Sagunto;* pág. 454.
88 — *¿ Cuándo cesarán las iras ?;* pág. 456.
89 — *Ay, amargas soledades;* pág. 458.
90 — *Quien puede contar sus males;* pág. 460.
91 — *El lastimado Belardo;* pág. 462.
92 — *Cuando las secas encinas;* pág. 464.
93 — *¡ Que se me da a mí que al mundo !;* pág. 467.
94 — *Tirad, fidalgos, tirad* [vid. nº 15], pág. 472.
95 — *Niñas, las que vestís ropas;* pág. 474.
96 — *Acompañada de quejas,* pág. 477.
97 — *No tengas, dulce Belisa;* pág. 479.
98 — *Enamorado y celoso;* pág. 482.
99 — *Mirando una clara fuente;* pág. 484.

Estas composiciones, publicadas en el *Romancero* como anónimas, fueron atribuidas a Lope por el colector de *O. S.* basándose, entre otras cosas, en el hecho de que en muchas de ellas se emplean los sobrenombres poéticos (Belardo y Belisa) que usó él para sí y para su primera esposa Dª Isabel de Urbina, y el de Filis, con que distinguió a su amada, Elena Osorio. En algunas, donde no los usa, le guió sin duda un instinto certero, pues en general sus inferencias han venido después a quedar reforzadas por los descubrimientos de Pérez Pastor.

Hace falta, sin embargo, una prolija revisión del *Romancero* para determinar cuáles son los romances que podemos *sospechar*, con visos de verosimilitud, que sean obra del poeta : tarea, por cierto, en que abundan los riesgos. Unas veces las variantes permiten la doble atribución (vid. nuestro número 209); otras se trata de posibles falsificaciones mal intencionadas; en ocasiones puede pensarse que varios

poetas hayan usado con buena fé del mismo seudónimo; y hay otros numerosos motivos de error. Las conclusiones a que pueda llegarse han de ser, por tales razones, de índole muy poco segura.

No entraré yo por ahora en semejante tarea. Baste con señalar algunas de esas treinta y seis composiciones cuya *desatribución* a Lope parece recomendada por ciertas razones :

Nº 69. *De ver una escura cueva.* El Sr. J. F. Montesinos (en *R. F. E.*, 1926, p. 140; vid. nuestro número 220) cree que no es de Lope, y la atribuye a Liñán, como del cual había sido ya publicada en 1876 (vid. nuestro número 177 bis y también Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, 81). Efectivamente, ha de corresponder a éste. No sólo está redactada en nombre de Riselo, su sobrenombre poético, sino que alude con reiteración a otros dos romances, también de Riselo : el bellísimo : « Los pámpanos eu sarmientos » (*B. A. E.*, XVI, nº 1523), una de las más hermosas páginas del *Romancero*, y aquel otro : « Al tiempo que el alba bella » (*id.*, nº 1521). Alude asimismo al hermoso romance de Belardo (Lope) : « El tronco de ovas vestido » (*id.*, nº 1490), pero nótese que Belardo interviene en la acción del romance.

El cual no es de Lope, desde luego; pero en cambio hemos notado que da la clave para identificar con gran probabilidad como obra del poeta, nada menos que cinco romances :

> Abindarráez y Muza — y el Rey Chico de Granada,
> Después que con alboroto — pasó el bailar de la zambra,
> Bravonel de Zaragoza — al rey Marsilio demanda,
> Avisaron a los reyes — que ya las nueve eran dadas,
> Alojó su compañía — en Tudela de Navarra.

(en *B. A. E.*, X, nºs 75, 76, 208, 209 y 211, respectivamente).

Nº 79. *Hería el Sol a las cumbres.* Tomillo y Pérez Pastor (*Proceso*, 121-123) hicieron notar que el verdadero Belardo desconoció formalmente esta poesía en el romance nº 73

(« Mil años ha que no canto ») : « Fuera de que ha pocos días / que ciertos poetas mozos / dan en llamarse Belardos / hurtándome el nombre sólo /... revocan mis testamentos / de mi desdicha envidiosos. / Un codicilo se canta / en que dicen que revoco, todas las mandas pasadas / Dios sabe lo que me corro ». Vid. asimismo Rennert y Castro (*Vida*, 77).

Nº 82. *Oidme, señor Belardo*. Contestación quizá — si ya no es que todo fuese artificio poético de Lope y sus amigos para llamar más la atención sobre ellos — del poeta, autor del nº 79, al romance nº 73 en que Lope desconocía su pretendido codicilo. Es interesantísimo, aparte de otros detalles, por la enumeración que hace de los temas poéticos tratados por *Belardo* en el romancero (Adulce, Bravonel, Maniloro, Azarque, Muza, Reduán).

Véase también sobre esta materia el número 198 de los presentes *Apuntes*.

Otro romance, el núm. 67 : « *Sentado en la seca yerba* » está atribuído por cierto anotador recordado por Pérez Pastor (vid. nuestro número 189) a un desconocido poeta : « Pº [¿ Pedro ?] de Osuna ». Aceptamos las razones que el Sr. Montesinos (en *R. F. E.*, 1926, 139-141; vid. número 220) da para atribuirlo, a pesar de ello, a Lope.

Para terminar con estas treinta y seis poesías, indicaremos la procedencia de ellas refiriéndonos a Durán (Catálogo e Indice en *B. A. E.*, XVI, 675-695 y 699-736), salvo indicación contraria.

Están publicadas :

a) En la *Flor de Romances*, 1ª y 2ª parte [no se indica fecha, pero ha de ser inmediata a 1589] : números 64, 65, 67, 69 y 70 (vid. núm. 4 *tripl.*).

b) En la *Flor de varios y nuevos Romances* [hacia 1588-1591] : números 64, 65, 67, 69 y 70 (vid. nuestro núm. 4 *bis*).

c) En el *Romancero general*, ediciones de 1604 y 1614, están publicados, según el colector de las *O. S.*, (vid. *O. S.*,

XVII, 405) todas estas treinta y seis composiciones. Teniendo a la vista el facsímil del *Romancero general de* 1600 (vid. el núm. 19 bis, de los presentes *Apuntes*) hemos comprobado que en éste se encuentran solamente las veintisiete primeras (números 64 a 90 inclusive). Resulta, pues, que las otras nueve (números 91 a 99) debieron aparecer por primera vez en el *Romancero* de 1604, o en el de 1614, o en ambos.

d) En la *Flor de romances*, 4ª y 5ª parte [de 1592] : números 76, 78, 79 y 81 (vid. núm. 5 bis).

e) En la *Segunda parte del Romancero general*, Valladolid, 1605, recopilada por Madrigal : números 98 y 99 (vid. nuestro núm. 31).

Tomo XVIII — 1778.

Fiestas del Santísimo Sacramento, repartidas en doce autos sacramentales. Estas obras de Lope, que se publicaron en Zaragoza, 1644, exceden de nuestros límites, siendo de carácter dramático; págs. III-XIV y 1-606.

Tomo XIX — 1778.

1 — *Rimas de Burguillos* (vid. nº 140); págs. XIII-XXIV y 1-316.
2 — *Oración* en las exequias de Lope por el P. *Francisco de Peralta ;* págs. 319-351.
3 — *Sermón fúnebre* del mismo, por el *Dr. Francisco de Quintana ;* págs. 355-400.
4 — *Oración funeral* en la misma ocasión, por el *P. Ignacio de Vitoria ;* págs. 403-466.
5 — *Oración fúnebre,* con el mismo objeto, por el *Dr. Fernando Cardoso ;* págs. 469-492.
6 — *Egloga* a la fama inmortal de Lope, por el *Dr. Juan Antonio de la Peña ;* págs. 495-520.

Tomo XX — 1779.

Fama póstuma a la vida y muerte del Dr. frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio y elogios panegíricos a la inmortalidad de su nombre, escritos por los más esclarecidos ingenios, solicitados por el *Dr. Juan Pérez de Montalbán.* Al fin, un *Indice alfa-*

bético de los autores cuyos elogios componen este tomo; págs. 1-538.

Tomo XXI — 1779.

1 — *Censura*, o aprobación, de Lope, en un libro de Castro y Anaya (vid. nº 132 *bis*); pág. XIV.

2 — *Este de Apolo singular tesoro...;* soneto (vid. nº 119); pág. XV.

3 — *Essechie poetiche*, de Lope, escogidas por Fabio Franchi. págs. 3-165.

Suplemento a los varios versos y prosas de Lope :

4 — « Francisco, cuyo santo humilde celo... » (vid. nº 2); pág. 169.

5 — ¿ Que así acertase Herrera, a quien no espanta ? (vid. nº 12); pág. 170.

6 — « Si fuérades cortesano... »; « Nicolás, pues sois vecino... » (vid. nº 38); págs. 171-179.

7 — « Aunque de espinas tantas... » (vid. nº 42); pág. 180.

8 — *Prólogo*, dirigido al Conde de Mora, de una obra de Baltasar Elisio de Medinilla; décimas: « Lector no hay sílaba aquí... » (vid. nº 63); págs. 181-185.

9 — « Hoy del Príncipe Cristiano... » (vid. nº 93); pág. 186.

10 — « Pedirme en tal relación... » (vid. nº 155); pág. 187.

11 — Dedicatoria a Lope, y *carta, en respuesta* de éste, de un libro de Velazquez de Acevedo (vid. nº 116); págs. 188-189.

12 — « La hermosa y muy discreta gallardía... » (vid. nº 1); pág. 190.

13 — « De tu Alfeo enamorado... » (vid. nº 149); pág. 191.

14 — Un trozo del *Elogio* a Juan Blas de Castro, que se omitió al imprimirlo en *O. S.*, IX, 385.

15 — *Indice alfabético* de los autores que escribieron en las *Essechie poetiche*, de Lope; págs. 193-201.

16 — *Indice general* de las *O. S.*; págs. 203-314 (el Indice del tomo XXI en los preliminares, pág. 16).

17 — *Indice general alfabético* de todas las composiciones que figuran en *O. S.*; págs. 315-500.

18 — *Indice alfabético* de los *autores* que escribieron *en elogio de Lope ;* págs. 501-533.

19 — *Indice alfabético de autores* de quienes se *hallan composiciones en la colección ;* págs. 534-549.

20 — *Enmiendas y varias lecciones* en esta colección; págs. 551-557.

RESUMEN DE LA COLECCIÓN DE *O. S.* :

a) *Obras que se publicaron en ella y hasta entonces estaban inéditas :*

Las *dos composiciones* reseñadas en el nº 57 del tomo XVII (págs. 345-346).
Las *dos cartas* y *dos sonetos*, reseñadas en el nº 63 de igual tomo (págs. 400-404).

b) *Obras atribuidas a Lope y que no son de él :*

Octava sagradamente culta &c (ver nuestro número 155 bis); *O. S.*, XVII, 325-344.
Diez y ocho, de las veintitrés composiciones reseñadas en nuestro número 160.
Las *cuatro novelas* reseñadas en este nº 162, tomo VIII, nº 3.
Los *tres romances* que enumeramos al tratar, en este mismo número 162, del tomo XVII de *O. S.*, numeros 69, 79 y 82.

c) *Algunas obras incluídas en esta colección, la autenticidad de las cuales resulta dudosa :*

Letanía y oraciones de nuestro número 68.
Décimas de nuestro nº 153.
Varias rimas sacras, de nuestro nº 158.
Cuatro, de las veintitrés *composiciones* de nuestro número 160.

d) *Composiciones impresas por duplicado :*

Véanse nuestros números 23 y 157.
— — 47 y 68.
— — 47 y 148.
— — 108 y 156.
Véase nuestro número 52.
— — 132.

1779

163. POESÍAS ESPIRITUALES, escritas por fray Luís de León,

Diego Alfonso de Velá_quez... &. Contiene, según Salvá (*Catálogo*, número 319) algunas composiciones de Lope, sacadas de los *Soliloquios*.

1792

163 bis. Fernández (Ramón) [seudónimo de D. Pedro Estala]. *Colección de poetas españoles* [título que suele darse a esta colección, que no lleva ninguno], tomo XI, dedicado a las *Rimas humanas y divinas del licenciado Tomé de Burguillos*. Madrid, 1792 (vid.: Foulché-Delbosc y Barrau-Dihigo, *Manuel de l'hispanisant*, II, núms. 699 y 707).

En la pág. 1 del prólogo declara el colector que : « Para hacer ver a los que no creen que el licenciado Tomé de Burguillos fué hombre real y no fingido, y que sus obras no son de frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio, se ha trabajado una disertación, en que se demuestra con bastante evidencia la vida de este autor y el mérito de sus obras. » Estala no llegó, afortunadamente, a publicar la tal disertación, pero la absurda idea que propugnaba no dejó de hacerse camino. Véase lo que decimos en nuestro número 140. Ello es tanto más indisculpable por cuanto acababa de publicarse la gran colección de las *O. S.*, y el conocimiento de algunas de las obras que contenía resolvía de plano la cuestión. Pero sin duda la gloria de Lope declinaba ya, y su obra iba siendo menos conocida : tal es la explicación más convincente que puede darse al auge que iba a tomar enseguida la desdichada idea de Estala.

1796

164. Poesías escogidas del Dr. Frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio. Con un discurso sobre la oda, de Marmontel. Madrid, 1796.

Revisé las poesías contenidas en esta colección, y las en-

contré contenidas, todas, en las *O. S.*, con excepción de cierto romance (« ¡Ay, riguroso estado, / ausencia fementida! »), acaso omitido en el *índice alfabético* de las *O. S.*, o procedente de alguna obra dramática.

Inclúyense en este libro *La Gatomaquia* y otras poesías de las publicadas bajo el seudónimo de Burguillos; pero haciendo (vid. pág. 219) la siguiente : « *Advertencia.* No faltan algunas personas que son de opinión que las poesías que Lope de Vega publicó a nombre de Tomé de Burguillos no son suyas, sino del mismo Tomé, que fué hombre que comió, bebió &; pero el mayor número no las cree así, por lo cual nos hemos limitado a sólo separarlas, y que los lectores juzguen lo que gusten ». La tal advertencia — que como se ve tiene sus puntos de irónica — está enderezada manifiestamente contra Estala (vid. nuestro número 163 *bis*); pero acredita cómo la opinión de éste había tomado cierto arraigo.

1800

165. PELLICER (JUAN ANTONIO). *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra.* Madrid, 1800.

En la pág. 83 se copia un soneto de cabo roto atribuido a Góngora :

Hermano Lope, bórrame el soné.

y seguidamente (pág. 84) este otro que un códice de la Bibl. Real (actualmente Nacional) de Madrid (antiguo est. M. cod. 84 p. 129), atribuye a Lope, suponiendo a Cervantes autor del antecedente :

Yo que no sé de *la*, de *li* ni *le*...

Aunque este género de atribuciones no merezca gran crédito, bueno es recogerlas aquí, valga, cada una, por lo que valiere. Por mi parte no creo obra de Lope este soneto.

D. Martín Fernández de Navarrete, en las *Ilustraciones y documentos* de su *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes*, Barcelona, 1834, pág. 426, dice que el soneto « Hermano Lope,... & » fué dado a luz por Pellicer en 1778, el cual lo reimprimió en 1797, habiéndole también publicado, en 1785, don Vicente García de la Huerta. Ignoro si a la vez publicarían asimismo el otro soneto.

1804

166. PELLICER (CASIANO). *Tratado histórico sobre el origen y progresos de la comedia y del histrionismo en España*, Parte I. Madrid, 1804, hojas preliminares, sin numeración. Inserta un soneto contra Góngora :

Pues en tu error impertinente expiras...

que contesta a aquel otro en que el poeta de Córdoba había satirizado a Lope y sus secuaces :

Patos del aguachirle castellana...

Pellicer lo atribuye a Lope, y ello me parece seguro, pues he notado una reminiscencia de él en *La Dorotea* (« zabúllome de pato »; edic. Renacimiento, 212, acto IV, escena 2). No figura el tal soneto en las *O. S.* La Barrera (*Nueva biografía*, 313) y Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 2094, lo copian asimismo. Véase la glosa que hace de él Lope en la *Relación* de las fiestas de 1622 (La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 370).

¿ Corresponde acaso a Lope cierta *Sátira contra Velázquez y su compañía, y contra Morales*, algunos de cuyos versos se copian en esta obra (Parte II, págs. 141-144; ver también pág. 14) ? No puede ser obstáculo para suponerlo así, su escaso mérito, pues no son mejores algunas de las sátiras que conocemos fragmentariamente por el *Proceso* (vid. nuestro número 182). El Morales aludido podría ser Alonso o Cristóbal (vid. H. A. Rennert, *The Spanish Stage*, New

York, 1909, págs. 527-528, y 624-625). Convendría publicar esta sátira, si no está perdida.

1807

167. QUINTANA (MANUEL JOSEF). *Poesías selectas castellanas.* Madrid, 1807, 3 vols. (Salvá, *Catálogo*, núm. 320).

Contiene poesías de Lope (págs. 218-290 de la edición que lleva el título de *Tesoro del Parnaso español.* París, Baudry, 1838). Todas están mencionadas en el *Indice* de *O. S.*, salvo unas *Estancias* u *Octavas* (« Riberas del humilde Manzanares... », págs. 248-249), que puede ser que hayan sido extraídas de alguna de las obras mayores; y el famoso soneto, sacado de la comedia *La Niña de Plata* (« Un soneto me manda hacer Violante... »), que ya había sido publicado, como composición suelta, por López de Sedano (vid. nuestro número 161).

1821-1825

168. BÖHL DE FABER (JUAN NICOLÁS). *Floresta de rimas antiguas castellanas.* Primera edición : 1ª, 2ª y 3ª parte, Hamburgo, 1821, 1823 y 1825; Segunda edición : Hamburgo, 1827, 1843 y 1843, respectivamente (Cejador, *Historia*, VI, 373). He tenido a la vista las 1ª y 2ª partes de la 2ª edición, y la 3ª de la 1ª.

Contiene poesías de Lope, que estaban todas ya publicadas. Se atribuyen a Burguillos algunas de las que el poeta dió a la imprenta bajo ese seudónimo.

1830-1833

169. QUINTANA (MANUEL JOSEF). *Poesías selectas castellanas. Segunda Parte. Musa Epica.* Tomos I y II. Madrid, 1833 (Salvá, *Catálogo*, núm. 321).

Contiene extractos de *La Jerusalem conquistada* (I, 397-474 y 484-487).

1845-1846

169 bis. SCHACK (ADOLFO FEDERICO, CONDE DE). *Geschichte der dramatischen Literatur und Kunst in Spanien.* Berlin, 1845-46, 2 vols.

No conozco esta primera edición alemana, sino únicamente la traducción española : *Historia de la literatura y del arte dramático en España*, por ADOLFO FEDERICO, CONDE DE SCHACK, traducida... por Eduardo de Mier. Madrid, 1885-1887, 5 vols.

En la parte referente a Lope se da razón del epistolario, se extractan algunas de las cartas más importantes (vid. II, 305-310), y se alude al códice Durán (id., II, 340; véase nuestro número 174).

1849

170. DURÁN (AGUSTÍN). *Romancero general.* Tomo I. Madrid, 1849 (*B. A. E.*, X). Vid. R. Foulché-Delbosc y L. Barrau-Dihigo, *Manuel de l'hispanisant*, II, 182, número 1978.

Véase la advertencia de Durán en *B. A. E.*, XVI, 694.

Hablaremos, por separado, de varios romances incluídos en el tomo de que tratamos :

a) « *¡Tirad, hidalgos, tirad!* » (p. 545). Es el único que se atribuye a Lope. Está en *O. S.*, XVII, 445. Vid. nuestros números 15 y 27.

b) « *Sale la estrella de Venus* » (p. 14). Pertenece al ciclo de Gazul, en el que ha de haber más de un romance, ignorado, de nuestro poeta. Es indudablemente obra de Lope (vid. los números 4 *tripl.*, 6, 189 y 196 de estos *Apuntes*) aunque lo mismo en la *Flor de nuevos y varios romances*, publicada hacia 1589 (vid. nuestro núm. 4 *tripl.*), que en el *Romancero*

general (vid. nuestro núm. 27) figure como anónimo. Puesto en música y cantado continuamente por toda clase de gentes, su excesiva popularidad llegó a convertirse en azote de los oídos, y de ello protestaron muchos, según ha de verse seguidamente. Enumeraremos algunas de las alusiones a él, que a cada paso se encuentran en las obras de aquel tiempo :

1. En el romance : « Pues ya desprecias el Tajo » (*B. A. E.*, XVI, núm. 1734) atribuido a Lope (vid. nuestro número 182) y que tengo por suyo. El anónimo poeta, desterrado, dice que quiere tranquilizar a su amada Filis. No volverá a tratar de sus amores : « y que ya no habrá razones / *de tórtolas ni de estrellas ;* / que yo callaré verdades / aunque me muerda la lengua ». Y efectivamente, poniendo enseguida en práctica tan honrado propósito, añade algo que tiene todas las trazas de ser revelación desvergonzada de un detalle íntimo de su antigua amante : « y que mataré a quién diga / que es parienta de los Cerdas, / pues tenerlas en el cuerpo / no es de floja ni de necia ». Por lo demás, está clara la alusión, lo mismo a : « Sale la estrella de Venus », que al famoso romance de las tortolillas : « El tronco de ovas vestido » (*O. S.*, XVII, 418), uno de los más bellos de Lope, enlazándolos ambos con los amores de Filis.

2. Una glosa en quintillas (« Cuando por prados amenos »), en *B. A. E.*, X, 15.

3. Una alusión en *La Serrana de la Vera*, de Luís Vélez de Guevara (edición de R. Menéndez Pidal y María Goyri de Menéndez Pidal. Madrid, 1916, 103 y 174).

4. Otra alusión de Góngora, al enumerar, en el soneto : « Aquí del Conde Claros... », los parciales de Lope : « con *La estrella de Venus*, cien rapaces » (vid. Rodríguez Marín, *op. cit.*, en nuestro número 196).

5. Alusión en el romance : « Límpiame la jacerina », a que nos hemos de referir seguidamente (*c*).

6. El mismo Lope, en *La Dorotea* (II, 2) : « Pues el río

[Guadalquivir] ¡es bobo, para no ser el del olvido! ¿ No ves que entra en él Guadalete, aquel río del romance de la estrella de Venus ? Que preguntándole yo a Julio qué río era este que se cantaba más que nuestro Manzanares, me dijo que los antiguos pusieron allí el *Leteo*, que eso es *Lethe* porque *Guada* es río, nombre arábigo, como Guadarrama, Guadalquivir, Guadalajara. » Compárese con otro lugar de la misma obra (IV, 1), en que vuelve a tratarse del olvido que causaba Sevilla : « Luego en llegando fué ese milagro : el río me parecía el Leteo; las barcas, almas; las damas, sus ministros. » Téngase en cuenta que para esa fantástica etimología Lope empleaba el nombre griego y latino del tal río (*Lethe*), que los italianos emplean también casi sin modificación (Léte).

7. En el *Quijote* de Avellaneda (fines del capítulo 32).

8. En *La hora de todos*, de Quevedo (*Obras, B. A. E.*, I, 387, núm. IX).

9. En el romance : ¿ Porqué, señores poetas ? » (*B. A. E.*, X, 130).

10. En el romance : « Oidme, señor Belardo » (*B. A. E.*, X, 130).

11. En el romance : « Toquen a prisa a rebato » (*B. A. E.*, X, 132).

12. Glosa a lo divino por Alonso de Ledesma Buitrago, según lo recuerdan los Srs. Hurtado y González Palencia en su muy notable *Historia de la literatura española*. Madrid, 1925, 592.

13. Alusión en el *Entremés de los romances* (Adolfo de Castro, *Varias obras inéditas de Cervantes*. Madrid, 1874, 169).

14. Del mismo modo en *El Celoso Extremeño*, de Cervantes (Rodríguez Marín, *op. cit*).

15. Otra alusión en un romance atribuido a Lope : « Mil años ha que no canto » (Rodríguez Marín, *op cit.*).

16. Otra en el romance « ¿ Qué se me da a mí que al mundo ? », también atribuido a Lope (*O. S.*, XVII, 470).

17. Otra (« y aquella enfadosa *estrella*, / que casi sirvió de pulla ») en cierto romance, recordado por el Sr. Rodríguez Marín (*op. cit.*).

c) « *Límpiame la jacerina* » (p. 14). Forma parte del mismo ciclo que el que precede del cual es antecedente. En el anterior, Gazul sale de Sidonia para Jerez donde hiere mortalmente a su rival, que celebra sus bodas. En éste, Gazul recibe en Sidonia la noticia de que « el miércoles adelante / se casa su bella mora / con su enemigo Albenzaide / moro rico de nación, / aunque de torpe linage; / ¡ pero venció la riqueza / a tres años de amistades ! ». Es el mismo período señalado en el de « la estrella de Venus ». Existen entre uno y otro romance inequívocas coincidencias de estilo, que muestran que ambos son obra de la misma pluma.

Como dato sumamente curioso, haremos notar que el matrimonio de Elena Osorio con Cristóbal Calderón se celebró el 27 de junio de 1576, según la partida que copian Tomillo y Pérez Pastor (*Proceso*, 206); y que en este año, la Pascua tuvo lugar el 22 de abril y el día citado fué miércoles (Capelli, *Cronologia e calendario perpetuo*. Milán, Hoepli, 1906, págs. 82 y 176.

No olvidemos que Lope tenía, en 1576, entre 13 y 14 años; y que en 1587-1588 — fecha probable del romance — habían transcurrido desde aquella fecha de 11 a 12 años. Pero recordemos también que nos hallamos en presencia de una psicología excepcional. Tengamos en cuenta los atroces celos retrospectivos que Lope hubo de sentir contra otra de sus víctimas (Roque Hernández, esposo de la Nevares) y también su procedimiento conocido de *contaminación* (vid. Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, 44-47) mediante el cual reunió en el personaje de Dorotea, datos y caracteres que correspondían en realidad no a una sino a tres de sus amadas.

Pues del mismo modo pudo apostrofar al odiado rival, prestándole alguno de los caracteres del marido, también detestado.

Algo más podríamos escribir acerca de otros varios romances; pero basta, por ahora, con lo expuesto. Lo dejaremos para otra ocasión en que pensamos hacerlo de una manera más sistemática.

1851

171. Durán (Agustín). *Romancero general.* Tomo II. Madrid, 1851 (*B. A. E.*, XVI). Vid. R. Foulché-Delbosc y L. Barrau-Dihigo, *Manuel de l'hispanisant*, II, p. 182, nº 1978.

Los romances atribuidos a Lope que se incluyen en este tomo pueden verse reseñados en el *Indice general* (*B. A. E.*, LXXI, 342). Todos ellos están en las *O. S.*, con excepción de dos :

Una estatua de Cupido (nº 1494)
Sobre la florida yerba (nº 1497)

Otro romance (« Si el caballo vos han muerto », núm. 981; figura ya en el *Romancero general* de 1600, folio 311) procede de una comedia (*El caballo vos han muerto*, o *Si el caballo vos han muerto*) que ha sido atribuida a Lope, pero que según parece (Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, 467) corresponde a Luís Vélez de Guevara. Debe excluirse, pues, el tal romance de la obra de Lope (vid. también *B. A. E.*, XVI, pág. 694).

Véanse nuestros números 81 y 170.

1853

171 bis. Hartzenbusch (Juan Eugenio). *Comedias escogidas de frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio.* Tomo I (publicado en Madrid, 1853, según R. Foulché-Delbosc y L. Barrau-

Dihigo, *Manuel de l'hispanisant*, II, núm. 2078), apud *B. A. E.*, XXIV.

Contiene esta colección varias dedicatorias de comedias (de que ya hicimos mención con anterioridad, en sus lugares respectivos), como sigue :

1 — « El verdadero amante », a Lope de Vega su hijo.
2 — « El dómine Lucas », a Juan de Piña.
3 — « La viuda valenciana », a la Sra. Marcia Leonarda (doña Marta de Nevares Santoyo).
4 — « Los locos de Valencia », al Maestro Simón Xabelo.
5 — « El Bobo del colegio », a D. Lorenzo Vander Hammen y León.
6 — « La corona merecida », a doña Angela Vernegali.
7 — « Quien ama no haga fieros », a D. Jorge de Tovar Valderrama.
8 — « Lo cierto por lo dudoso », al Duque de Alcalá.
9 — « El castigo sin venganza », al Duque de Sessa.

El prólogo y dedicatoria de esta última obra, se hallan también en *O. S.*, VIII.

1855

172. Sancha (Justo de). *Romancero y cancionero sagrados*. Madrid, 1855 (*B. A. E.*, XXXV). Vid. R. Foulché-Delbosc y L. Barrau-Dihigo, *Manuel de l'hispanisant*, II, núm. 2127.

Contiene composiciones de Lope, reseñadas en el *Indice general* (*B. A. E.*, LXXI, 342), las cuales están en *O. S.*, o han sido desglosadas de autos sacramentales, según se indica al pié de cada una de ellas.

173. Castro (Adolfo de). *Curiosidades bibliográficas*. Madrid, 1855 (*B. A. E.*, XXXVI). Vid. R. Foulché-Delbosc y L. Barrau-Dihigo, *Manuel de l'hispanisant*, II, núms. 2128 y 2131.

Incluye una traducción de *La Tebaida*, de Estacio, hecha

por el licenciado Juan de Arjona, la cual lleva unas quintillas preliminares de Lope (págs. 64-65) :

Nuevo Apolo granadino,

que estaban inéditas hasta entonces, lo mismo que la traducción. Arjona falleció en 1603 (Cejador, *Historia*, IV, 228). Las quintillas volvieron a aparecer, en 1863, en el tomo I del *Ensayo* de Gallardo, columnas 300 a 302.

173 bis. Hartzenbusch (Juan Eugenio). *Comedias escogidas de frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio.* Tomo II (publicado en Madrid, 1855, según R. Foulché-Delbosc y L. Barrau-Dihigo, *Manuel de l'hispanisant*, II, núm. 2078), apud *B. A. E.*, XXXIV.

Contiene esta colección varias dedicatorias de comedias, de que ya tenemos hecha mención, en los lugares respectivos, como sigue :

1 — « Santiago el Verde », a Baltasar Elisio de Medinilla.
2 — « El hijo de los leones », a D. Juan Geldre.
3 — « Querer la propia desdicha », a Claudio Conde.
4 — « La mal casada », a D. Francisco de la Cueva y Silva.

1856

174. Rosell (Cayetano). *Colección escogida de obras no dramáticas de frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio.* Madrid, 1856 (vid. R. Foulché-Delbosc y L. Barrau-Dihigo, *Manuel de l'hispanisant*, II, 189, núm. 2144). *B. A. E.*, XXXVIII.

La colección de Rosell constituye una reducción de la de Cerdá y Rico. Es menos farragosa que ésta; pero también mucho más incompleta y más descuidada. Los únicos materiales nuevos son los que se toman de los códices Durán y Pidal (vid. La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 475) : los detallo

seguidamente. El texto, en las restantes composiciones, procede, al parecer, de la colección de Cerdá, y no de las ediciones originales. Las notas de referencia a las diferentes obras de Lope están equivocadas, o son equívocas, en algunos casos (composiciones que llevan en la colección de Rosell los números 95, 98, 102, 103, 105, 108, 109, 218 a 224 &); o bien faltan, en otros (composiciones números 90 a 92, 117 &). Se ha dado cabida a no menos de diez composiciones de atribución más que dudosa (véase nuestro número 160) omitiendo las prudentes salvedades que había hecho Cerdá respecto de ellas. Incluye esta colección (págs. 525 a 527) una nota de *Ediciones que se han tenido en cuenta* que constituye un pequeño apéndice bibliográfico.

a) *Composiciones incluidas en esta colección que se imprimieron en ella por primera vez; y procedencia de las mismas* (*D* = códice autógrafo, propiedad del Sr. Durán : vid. pág. 564; *P* = cód. autógr. prop. del Marqués de Pidal . vid. pág. 565) :

1 — « Atención al retrato... »	pág. 233,	*P* f. 72	v.
2 — « Hoy no fía Pascuala... »	— 233,	*D* f. 9.	
3 — « Quiere Juana persuadirme... »	— 233,	*D* f. 22	v.
4 — « Matan a Bras los desvelos... »	— 234,	*D* f. 23.	
5 — « Es adagio provincial... »	— 234,	*D* f. 28	v.
6 — « ¿ Quién mata con más vigor ?...»	— 236,	*P* f. 95.	v.
7 — « Celos que no me matáis... »	— 237,	*D* f. 35	v.
8 — « Muy reverendo senado... »	— 239-240,	*D* f. 89.	
9 — « Triste sale el cabaleiro... »	— 245-246,	*D* f. 33.	
10 — « Bajaba entre nubes de oro... »	— 254-255,	*D* f. 8.	
11 — « Tan, tan, tan... »	— 274,	*D* f. 141.	
12 — « Hoy para eternos laureles... »	— 276,	*P* f. 32.	
13 — « Por el monte Sinaí... »	— 276-277,	*P* f. 36.	
14 — « Si canta a la antigua edad... »	— 278,	*P* f. 90.	
15 — « Abrasados serafines... »	— 279-280,	*P* f. 43.	

b) En la pág. 564 se incluye un *Indice de las poesías con-*

tenidas en un códice autógrafo de Lope de Vega que era propiedad del Dr. D. Agustín Durán. He aquí las composiciones que menciona :

1 — « Tan vivo está en mi alma... » (*O. S.*, VII, 253).
2 — « Anticipó la púrpura olorosa... » (*O. S.*, I, 272).
3 — Dedicatoria en prosa al Duque de Sessa, de una traducción del latín al castellano, que hizo de una obra devota.
4 — « Tres veces encendió la luz febea » (*O. S .*, IV, 499).
5 — Carta en prosa.
6 — « Con dulce amor, con religioso culto » (fragmento de un soneto dedicado a Urbano VIII).
7 — « Aquí la majestad del sol romano » (*O. S.*, IV, 498). Soneto al mismo Papa.
8 — « Bajaba entre nubes de oro » (*B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, 254).
9 — « Hoy no fía Pascuala... » (*B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, 233).
10 — « Atrevióse el Inglés, de engaño armado » (*O. S.*, IV, 500).
11 — « Doctor, si a quien yo tuve más respeto ».
12 — « De rojo y azul colores ».
13 — « Yo gasto, señor Jácome, en quereros » (¿ acaso dedicada a Monseñor Juan Jácome Pancirolo ? : vid. nuestro nº 118).
14 — « Feria, después que del arnés dorado » (*O. S.*, IV, 501).
15 — « Segundo, santo, aquel alegre día ».
16 — « En toda la serranía ».
17 — « Sucede escura sombra el sol ausente » (acaso sera « Sucede escura sombra al sol ausente ». *O. S.*, IV, 502, soneto dedicado al mismo Pancirolo).
18 — « La bendicion del arca antiguamente ».
19 — « Si en alegre color, si en negra tinta » (*O. S.*, IV, 503). Soneto a D. Juan de Jáuregui.
20 — « Cierto fiscal del mundo impertinente » (*O. S.*, IV, 508).
21 — « Las campanitas del alba ».
22 — « Vamos, pastores, vamos ».
23 — « Paulo, jurisconsulto soberano » (La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 637). Soneto a D. Francisco de la Cueva.
24 — « Honor de vuestro noble patrio suelo ».
25 — « Seyano, a leves culpas, graves penas » (*O. S.*, I, 274; *Nueva biografía*, de La Barrera, 636).
26 — « Quiere Juana persuadirme » (*B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, 233).

27 — « Matan a Bras los desvelos » (*B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, 234).
28 — « El Júpiter español ». Redondilla para glosa. No es de Lope (vid. La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 640).
29 — « Eclíptica militar ».
30 — « Con respeto se retrata » (*O. S.*, XIX, 267; *B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, 237).
31 — « Preti, la muerte que con pié invisible » (*O. S.*, I, 273). A la muerte de Girólamo Preti (vid. nuestro nº 127).
32 — « Con tan sublimes números decora ».
33 — « Si Dios no hiciera flores, Primavera ». Soneto a Paravicino.
34 — « Es adagio provincial » (*B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, 234).
35 — « Comienza el mayor planeta ». Romance al Duque de Béjar.
36 — « Triste sale o cabaleiro » (*B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, 245).
37 — « Celos que no me matáis » (*B. E. A.*, XXXVIII, 237).
38 — « Canta Camargo a Nicolás y canta... » (*O. S.*, XVII, 222).
39 — « Alza la frente de cristal ceñida... » (*O. S.*, I, 228).
40 — Dedicatoria en prosa de un tratado de música.
41 — Respuesta en prosa & (¿ *O. S.*, XVII, 310 ?).
42 — Plan de la comedia *La palabra vengada* (¿ será *La palabra mal cumplida* : Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, 503 ?).
43 — « El poeta florido ya se entiende ». Soneto a Luís Vélez de Guevara.
44 — « Seráficas plumas cria ». Décima al licenciado Felices.
45 — Plan del acto primero de una comedia.
46 — « Cuando viniendo a la mayor delicia ».
47 — « Yace en este tonel María de Angola ».
48 — « Viva llama de amor, que arder porfía ».
49 — « Espérame, Bras, afuera ».
50 — « Hermosas alamedas » — composición distinta de la de *O. S.*, V, 425 — égloga (vid. nºs 207 y 207 *bis*).
51 — « Muy reverente [o reverendo] senado »; loa para la égloga anterior (*B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, 239).
52 — Continuación de la égloga (nº 50).
53 — « Dijo el amor, sentado en las orillas ».
54 — « Levanta la cabeza ». Iságoge (*O. S.*, X, 308).
55 — « Rompe las olas con el tierno pecho ».
56 — « Déjame, pensamiento ».
57 — « Con triste voz Cleopatra se lamenta ».
58 — Continúa el nº 54.
59 — « Vuelan cual mariposas ».
60 — « Sale la Aurora en su inmortal espera » (*O. S.*, XVII, 266).

61 — « Podrán para no cansaros ».
62 — « Tu dulce voz, cual suele en primavera » (*O. S.*, XVII, 261).
63 — « Deseoso Pedro santo ».
64 — « Como mercader del mundo ».
65 — « Tan, tan, tan » (*B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, 274).
66 — « Por bien dichas pudieran estas culpas ».
67 — « Este sin blanca generoso Artiaga ».
68 — « Cuando arrogante, oh pórfido !, presumas ».
69 — « Niño, de mis ojos luz » (*O. S.*, XIX, 297).
70 — « El zagalejo de Juana ».
71 — « El esposo de Juana ».
72 — « ¿ Quién llama ? ¿ quién está ahí ? »; villancico distinto del de *O. S.*, XVI, 290.
73 — « No es la primera vez que desgarrado ».
74 — Repetición del nº 69.
75 — « Aunque ya mi bien tengais ».
76 — Segunda repetición del nº 69.
77 — « Porque no echéis a perder ».
78 — « Niño, queriendo estaís » (« ¿ Niño que riendo estaís ? »; vid. nuestro nº 223).
79 — « Del alta mar de los cielos ».
80 — « Corderito, corderito » (*O. S.*, XIX, 295).
81 — « No parece cuerda acción ». Décimas al doctor Juan de León.
82 — « Rompe las ondas con el tierno pecho ». Repetición del nº 55.
83 — Repetición del nº 56.
84 — Repetición del nº 57.
85 — « Mi estrella, si hay estrellas ».
86 — « Suspenso por las márgenes estivas ».
87 — « Yo caga-prados, Valenzuela en raza » (Ha de ser el mismo soneto : « Yo Bragadoro, Valenzuela en raza » de *O. S.*, XIX, 39).
88 — « Peniso amigo, codiciar mi muerte » (*O. S.*, XIX, 62).
89 — « ¿ De do viene el caballero ? »
90 — « Buscaba un pastor del Tajo ».
91 — « Pues ya no sois lo que fuistes ».
92 — « Cuando tus siempre angélicos pinceles », Soneto al pintor Francisco de Pacheco.
93 — « Al son de los arroyuelos » (*O. S.*, VII, 99).
94 — « La fortaleza que admiró posible ».
95 — « Si es vida al hombre la forma ».
96 — « Si el hombre llega a pedir ».

97 — « Echado al mayor mundo todo el velo ».
98 — « Gran leon de Ecequiel »; décimas iocosas a favor de Montalbán (¿ y en contra de quién ?).

Salvo los que hemos señalado como incluidos en *O. S.*, o en *B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, todos estos escritos de Lope estaban en 1856, y continúan en su casi totalidad, actualmente inéditos, a pesar del gran interés que muchos de ellos revisten. Para publicaciones recientes vid. nuestros números 207, 207 *bis*, 215 y 223.

c) En la página 565 se incluye un *Indice del códice autógrafo* de Lope de Vega que era propiedad *del señor Marqués de Pidal*. Menciona las siguientes composiciones :

1 — « Que no pueden os disculpa ».
2 — « Palomita blanca ».
3 — « Abre tus puertas, coronada villa » (*O. S.*, IV, 483).
4 — « Sustancias soberanas con quien tiene » (*O. S.*, IV, 488).
5 — « Ay, Jesús, que se muere .»
6 — « Madre, desde el ciclo ví ».
7 — « Por alzarse con el cielo ».
8 — « Esta letra está en el cielo ».
9 — « A segar el blanco trigo ».
10 — « A la puerta de la iglesia. »
11 — « Como niños juegan ya ».
12 — « ¿ Quién ha visto por aquí ? ».
13 — « Entre los soberanos atributos ».
14 — « ¿ Quién quiere por que ha venido del cielo ? »
15 — « ¿ Como dejais vuestra madre ? » (La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 681).
16 — « Niño, pastor soberano » (*O. S.*, XIX, 292).
17 — « Si venís a la corte. »
18 — « El niño de la risa por quien llora ».
19 — « Hoy para eternos laureles » (*B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, 276).
20 — « En esta boda divina ».
21 — « A las divinas rosas ».
22 — « Por el monte Sinai » (*B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, 276).
23 — « Espíritus celestiales » (*B. A. E.* XXXVIII, 278, *O. S.*, XIX, 303).

24 — « Juan, lo que Dios os quería ».
25 — « Dice Juan que nadie ha visto »:
26 — « Abrasados serafines » (*B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, 279).
27 — « Abre tus puertas, tus candados rompe ».
28 — « Con las virtudes que tuviste, oh Clara ».
29 — « Tomad, Pedro, la tiara ».
30 — « A buscar esposo viene » (La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 681).
31 — « Arrojadle las manzanicas ».
32 — « Aquel corderico, madre ».
33 — « Levanta, Gil, date prisa ».
34 — « Este glorioso y perfeto ».
35 — « Victoria, dignamente, pues el cielo ».
36 — « Sabrador de los cielos ».
37 — « ¿ A qué tocan a rebato ? ».
38 — « Canta, lengua, el glorioso ».
39 — « Dulce pastor que nuestro valle pisa » (*O. S.*, XIX, 290).
40 — « Quien hubiere visto un niño » (*O. S.*, XIX, 291).
41 — « Piedra fundamental, arco divino » (*O. S.*, IX, 130).
42 — « Desde la aurora hasta la sacra pira » (vid. La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 654).
43 — « Si cuando coronado de laureles ». Soneto al pintor Vander (*O. S.*, I, 274).
44 — « Dos cosas despertaron mis antojos ». Soneto a Marino (*O. S.*, XIX, 112).
45 — « Atención al retrato » (*B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, 233).
46 — « Fénix, tercera vez levanta el vuelo ». Canción a Díaz Morante (*O. S.*, XVII, 292).
47 — « Sol de las musas, del Parnaso gloria ». Epístola a Miguel de Solís (*O. S.*, I, 260). Vid. nuestro nº 127.
48 — « Alma, aplicad el sentimiento humano ».
49 — « Ensaya el Padre Eterno la obediencia ».
50 — « Si canta la antigua edad » (*B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, 278).
51 — « Durmiendo estaba, si dormir podía » (*O. S.*, I, 256). Al retrato del Rey Felipe IV pintado por Rubens (vid. el nº 127 de estos *Apuntes*).
52 — « ¿ Quién mata con más rigor ? ». Composición omitida en el *Indice*, pero que figura en *B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, 236, como procedente de este lugar del códice.
53 — « ¿ Quién es el mal de un bien ? ».
54 — Respuesta al interrogatorio sobre la canonización del beato Simón de Rojas; en prosa (vid. nuestro nº 203).

55 — « Si de Dios la camarera ».
56 — « Si todo lo acaba el tiempo » (*O. S.*, VII, 436).
57 — « Vestirán tu desprecio soberano ».
58 — « En vano el Tormes penetró la nieve ».

Repetimos, con respecto a las composiciones de este códice, lo mismo que acabamos de decir, al terminar la enumeración de las del códice Durán.

d) *Sobre la traducción de* El robo de Proserpina, *de Claudiano.*

En las págs. 525-527 incluye el señor Rosell un catálogo de « Ediciones que se han tenido presentes de las obras sueltas de Lope de Vega ». En él (pág. 526 *c*) indica que « don Nicolás Antonio cita una edición [del *Romancero espiritual*, de Lope; vid. nuestro número 68], de Cuenca, de Salvador Viader, que contiene El robo de Proserpina, *La rosa blanca*, *La mañana de San Juan* y *Catorce romances a la pasión de Cristo* ». Se alude a una traducción del poema de Claudiano (*De raptu Proserpinae*) que Lope mencionó en su *Egloga a Claudio* (vid. *B. A. E.*, XXXVIII, 433, y La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 39) como hecha por él en su juventud (y no precisamente a los diez años, como han pretendido La Barrera y otros). Sobre todo ello escribí en otra ocasión (*Lope de Vega traductor de Claudiano*, en la revista *Verbum*, Buenos Aires, mayo de 1923, págs. 63-70).

Esta noticia de Rosell es la única que podría hacer suponer que esta traducción haya sido editada ; pero de un atento examen del pasaje de Nicolás Antonio (*Bibliotheca hispana nova*, II, Madrid, 1788, pág. 78) parece resultar más bien una enumeración de obras de Lope, que la afirmación de que *El robo* hubiese sido impreso juntamente con el *Romancero espiritual*. Vid. nuestro núm. 156 bis.

Por ahora puede darse esta obra por no impresa, y por perdida.

El « Robo de Proserpina de Cayo Lucio Claudiano » fué traducido por el doctor Francisco de Faría, canónigo doctoral de Almería, que lo publicó en Madrid, 1608, dedicándolo al mecenas de Lope, el Duque de Sessa (Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 996). Con anterioridad lo había traducido también Fernando de Herrera.

1857

175. Castro (Adolfo de). *Poetas líricos de los siglos XVI y XVII.* Tomo II. Madrid, 1857 (*B. A. E.*, XLII). Vid. R. Foulché-Delbosc y L. Barrau-Dihigo, *Manuel de l'hispanisant*, II, núm. 2086.

Incluye tres composiciones de Lope :

1 — « Pues que ya de mis versos y pasiones » (p. 21).
2 — « Con el tiempo el villano a la melena » (p. 26).
3 — « Este libro es un diamante » (p. 231).

Las dos primeras proceden de las *Flores de poetas ilustres* (vid. nuestro número 30) y la última de los *Proverbios morales* de Alonso de Barros (vid. nuestro número 11). Sólo la número 1 falta en *O. S.*

1860

175 bis. Hartzenbusch (Juan Eugenio). *Comedias escogidas de frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio.* Tomo III (publicado en Madrid, 1860, según R. Foulché-Delbosc y L. Barrau-Dihigo, *Manuel de l'hispanisant*, II, número 2078), apud *B. A. E.*, XLI.

Contiene esta colección varias dedicatorias de comedias, de que ya tenemos hecha mención en los lugares correspondientes, como sigue :

1 — « La campana de Aragón », a D. Fernando de Vallejo.
2 — « El remedio en la desdicha », a doña Marcela del Carpio, su hija.

3 — « La Arcadia », al Dr. Gregorio López Madera.
4 — « La buena guarda », a D. Juan de Arguijo.
5 — « Las famosas asturianas », a D. Juan de Castro y Castillo.
6 — « De cosario a cosario », a doña Ana Francisca de Guzmán.
7 — « La vengadora de las mujeres », a la Sra. Fenisa Camila.
8 — « El cardenal de Belem », al Maestro Paravicino.
9 — « El mejor mozo de España », a Pedro Verjel.

175 tripl. HARTZENBUSCH (JUAN EUGENIO). *Comedias escogidas de frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio.* Tomo IV (publicado en Madrid, 1860, según R. Foulché-Delbosc y L. Barrau-Dihigo, *Manuel de l'hispanisant,* II, núm. 2078), apud *B. A. E.*, LII.

Contiene esta colección :

Los prólogos que puso Lope a las *Partes* XI a XVII y XIX.

Varias dedicatorias de comedias, de que ya hemos hecho mención, en los lugares correspondientes, como sigue :

1 — « El alcalde mayor », al Dr. Cristóbal Núnez.
2 — « El Príncipe perfecto », segunda parte, al Marqués de Alcañices.
3 — « La pobreza estimada », al Príncipe de Esquilache.
4 — « Virtud, pobreza y mujer », a Juan Bautista Marino.
5 — « Pobreza no es vileza », al Duque de Maqueda.
6 — « Roma abrasada », al Maestro Gil González Dávila.
7 — « La inocente sangre », al Licdo. Dr. Sebastián de Caravajal.
8 — « D. Juan de Castro », primera parte, al Conde de Cantillana.
9 — « Id., segunda parte, al Dr. Alonso Pusmarín.
10 — « Adonis y Venus », al Duque de Pastrana.
11 — « Los prados de León », al Duque de Huéscar.
12 — « Mirad a quién alabais », a doña María de Noroña.
13 — « La inocente Laura », a D. Diego Jiménez de Vargas.

1861

175 cuadrupl. MILÁ Y FONTANALS (MANUEL), al reseñar en el *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur,* III,

1861, pág. 166, el *Romancero de Barcelona* (vid. nuestro número 194) apuntó la sospecha de que « unas canciones que en él figuran podrían ser de Lope, a juzgar por la correcta ligereza con que están escritas » (J. F. Montesinos, *Notas algunas poesías de Lope,* en *R. F. E.*, 1926, 141-142).

1863

175 quint. Gallardo (Bartolomé J.). *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos.* Apuntamientos coordenados y aumentados por D. M. R. Zarco del Valle y D. J. Sancho Rayón. Tomo I. Madrid, 1863.

En las columnas 1027-1060 se da razón de cierto manuscrito que contiene « muchos romances con los nombres de sus autores », entre ellos Lope de Vega. El único que se copia como de Lope (en la columna 1031) :

Cuando sale el alba hermosa — y alegra los campos verdes,

tiene común el primer verso con otro romance de Lope en *La Arcadia :*

Cuando sale el alba hermosa — coronada de violetas,

(en *O. S.*, VI, 42), pero es distinto de éste.

En las columnas 1105-1106 se alude a cierto *Ramillete de flores divinas, sacadas de diferentes autores y recogidas por un devoto &.* « Por la mayor parte — dice Gallardo — romances de Lope a lo divino, sin lugar ni año de impresión ». Ignorando el contenido, así como el lugar y año de la impresión, nos limitamos a reproducir la indicación de Gallardo.

Véanse nuestros números 175 sextupl., 178 bis y 178 tripl,

1866

175 sextupl. Gallardo (Bartolomé J.). *Ensayo de una biblioteca &.* Tomo II. Madrid, 1866.

Incluye, con paginación independiente dentro del tomo, un *Indice*, sacado por Gallardo, de los m. s. de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. En él (pág. 143) da razón, entre las poesías de D. Juan de Salinas, de un romance de Salinas contra Lope y de la respuesta de éste (M. 152, p. 190). Es sensible que ambas poesías continúen hasta ahora inéditas.

1869

175 septupl. SALINAS (DR. JUAN DE). *Poesías*, edición de la *Sociedad de Bibliófilos Andaluces*. Sevilla, 2 tomos, 1869.

En el tomo II, pág. 296, se da razón de un códice, existente en la Biblioteca del Museo Británico de Londres (*Additional*, número 17-702), que contiene poesías de varios ingenios, entre ellos Lope de Vega, D. Juan de Salinas, D. Miguel Rebelles (*sic*, por de Rebellas : está mencionado por Lope en el *Proceso por libelos* aludido en nuestro número 182). Acaso figurará también en dicho códice el romance de Lope contra Salinas a que aludimos en nuestro número 175 sextupl.

1872

176. SALVÁ Y MALLÉN (PEDRO). *Catálogo de la biblioteca de Salvá*. Valencia, 1872, 2 tomos.

Aparte de las noticias sobre obras impresas que se encontrarán en los respectivos artículos del presente trabajo, he hallado en el libro de Salvá algunas otras acerca de manuscritos que contienen obras no dramáticas atribuidas a Lope :

Núm. 198 *de dicho Catálogo*. Cancionero manuscrito que contiene poesías de Lope (no indica cuales). Volumen en cuarto de 180 hojas, del siglo XVII.

Núm. 199. Id. id. Volumen en cuarto, 196 hojas, siglo XVII.

Núm. 1057. « Obras satíricas del Conde de Villamediana »

Manuscrito que Salvá fecha hacia 1672. Contiene las producciones que Góngora, Lope &, dedicaron a la muerte del Conde. No sé si entre las atribuidas a Lope habrá algunas más de las tres a que se refieren los números 178 y 178 tripl. del presente trabajo.

Núm. 3529. « Triunfo glorioso de tres mártires & », por frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio. Manuscrito de fines del siglo XVII, o principios del XVIII, de 70 hojas útiles. Según indican los Srs. Rennert y Castro (*Vida*, 532) esta obra no es de Lope, sino de fray Antonio de Govea, a cuyo nombre se imprimió en Madrid, en 1623 (vid. Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, III, núm. 1946).

1875

176 bis. Rodríguez Zapata (Francisco). *Cancionero de la Inmaculada Concepción de la Santísima Virgen María.* Sevilla, 1875 (vid. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Obras completas*, X, 58).

Solamente por la mención de Mz. P. conozco esta antología en donde se agrupan hasta 34 composiciones, algunas dramáticas, dedicadas por Lope a la Inmaculada. Ignoro si habrá entre ellas alguna inédita.

1876

177. Rivas y Canfranc (José Ibero) [seudónimo anagramático de Francisco Asenjo y Barbieri : vid. Menéndez y Pelayo, adiciones a la *Nueva biografía*, de La Barrera, 692, e Icaza, *Lope de Vega, sus amores y sus odios*. Madrid, ¿ 1926 ? págs. 35-38]. *Ultimos amores de Lope de Vega Carpio, revelados por él mismo en cuarenta y ocho cartas inéditas y varias poesías.* Madrid, 1876.

Entre las cartas a que alude, y que entonces estaban inéditas, incluye dos poesías, dirigidas por Lope al Duque de

Sessa, al correr de la pluma, y que no figuran en el Indice de las *O. S.* :

1 — « Allá vuelven los antojos » (p. 62); décima.
2 — « Leed estos pensamientos » (p. 72); décima.

177 bis. Liñan de Riaza (Pedro). *Rimas*, publicadas por T[omás] X[iménez] [de] E[mbun]. Zaragoza, 1876.

Incluye como de Liñán el romance :

De ver una escura cueva,

que había sido publicado como obra de Lope en *O. S.*, XVII, 416.

Vid. nuestro número 220.

1881

177 tripl. Mesonero Romanos (Ramón de). *El antiguo Madrid.* Tomo I. Madrid, 1881.

En la pág. 261 se atribuyen a Lope dos décimas sobre la muerte del Conde de Villamediana :

Mentidero de Madrid,
Aquí la mano violenta.

De ellas la primera es atribuida generalmente a Góngora. El Sr. Foulché-Delbosc no la incluye en su edición (*Obras*, III, 132). La segunda se ha prohijado a Quevedo, falsamente, en opinión del Sr. Cotarelo (en la obra a que se refiere nuestro número 178, pág. 152; véase también nuestro núm. 178 tripl.).

No consta que ambas atribuciones tengan ninguna base sólida.

No conozco la primera edición (publicada en 1861) de la obra de Mesonero Romanos. Supongo que en ella constaría ya la atribución.

1886

178. Cotarelo y Mori (Emilio). *El conde de Villamediana.* Madrid, 1886.

Contiene tres poesías atribuidas a Lope, y que tratan de la muerte del Conde :

1 — « Al que sobró de buen entendimiento »; soneto; pág. 148.
2 — « Intenciones de Madrid »; décima; pág. 152.
3 — « Aquí con hado fatal »; décima; pág. 154.

Los números 1 y 3 están en *O. S.* (XVII, 346 y 345).

1888

178 bis. Gallardo (Bartolomé J.). *Ensayo de una biblioteca &.* Tomo III. Madrid, 1888.

Alúdese (columna 362) a cierta *Traducción de los veinticuatro libros de la Ilíada del famoso y celebrado poeta Homero.* hecha por D. Antonio de Herrera Manrique, y que aun está manuscrita. Lleva una aprobación de Lope, fechada el 7 de noviembre de 1628.

Aparte de ello, y aunque nos salgamos un tanto de nuestro objeto, señalaremos otras dos obras dedicadas a Lope, en las cuales acaso podrá encontrarse algún detalle de interés para la biografía del poeta, a saber : Hernández Blasco (Luís), *Tercera parte de la Universal redención* (columna 182); Herrera Manrique (don Antonio de), *Huerto florido* (columna 206). En las columnas 691-698 se alude asimismo a cierto manuscrito (*Versos a lo divino de Baltasar Elisio de Medinilla* , y se copia un prólogo « A Lope de Vega Carpio, príncipe de la poesía ». El manuscrito está dedicado « A don Francisco de Rojas y Guzmán, conde de Mora » (el mismo a quién Lope dirigió cierta epístola : vid. nuestro número 63). Con-

tiene también el manuscrito una carta en prosa, de Medinilla a Lope, consolando a éste, en la muerte de Carlos Félix, hijo del gran poeta.

1889

178 tripl. GALLARDO (BARTOLOMÉ J.). *Ensayo de una biblioteca &*. Tomo IV. Madrid, 1889.

En la columna 687 se alude a una de las composiciones sobre la muerte de Villamediana (« Aquí con hado fatal »), atribuida ya a Lope (en *O. S.*, XVII, 345); y a otras dos análogas, que acaso son las aludidas en los números 176 y 178 de estos *Apuntes*.

En la columna 894 se da razón de la obra de D. Juan Valladares de Valdelomar, *Caballero venturoso*, copiándose integramente la aprobación de Lope, fechada en Madrid, a 28 de abril de 1617 (por error se indica 1607). Posteriormente la aprobación ha sido reproducida en la edición de el *Caballero venturoso*, publicada por los Srs. A. Bonilla y San Martín y M. Serrano y Sanz. Madrid, 1902, I, 1.

1890

179. *Obras de Lope de Vega*, publicadas por la R. Academia Española. Tomo I. *Nueva biografía* por D. CAYETANO ALBERTO DE LA BARRERA. Madrid, 1890.

Contiene : *Advertencia preliminar*, fechada en mayo de 1864, por La Barrera; *Poesía popular. Drama novelesco. Lope de Vega*, artículo por D. Agustín Durán; *Nueva biografía*, por La Barrera; *Noticias* acerca de Lope, tomadas de sus antiguos biógrafos y panegiristas; *Pinturas, esculturas y grabados* referentes a Lope; *Apéndice biográfico*, cartas y documentos; *Indice* analítico; *Apéndice bibliográfico ; Adiciones*, de Menéndez y Pelayo; e *Indice alfabético*.

El nombre de La Barrera no puede ser pronunciado sin veneración por los copistas. El libro de que tratamos re-

novó el concepto general que se tenía acerca de la personalidad del poeta y continúa siendo un abundantísimo depósito de documentos y noticias, aun no del todo aprovechados. Ciertamente que podrían ponerse reparos al método, sobre todo en lo que se refiere a la continua inclusión de materiales no elaborados, que interrumpen el hilo de la narración e impiden la visión del conjunto; pero, a pesar de todo, constituye una de las mejores biografías que se hayan dedicado a un autor del siglo de Oro.

La obra de La Barrera fué presentada a un concurso convocado por la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid en 1864 y si bien se le concedió el premio, el tribunal impuso a su autor la supresión de toda la parte referente a los amores del poeta con doña Marta de Nevares. Por pacatos respetos, que aun hoy no han desaparecido del todo, los buenos señores del tribunal olvidaban :

Que es lengua la verdad de Díos severo,

y pretendían mantener en la oscuridad un documento humano de semejante importancia. Accedió el autor, aunque con gran disgusto, a la imposición; y aun así la obra quedó sin publicar durante mucho tiempo.

Asenjo y Barbieri al sacar a luz los *Ultimos amores* en 1876 (vid. núm. 177) disipó este secreto — que ya no lo era sino a voces, y que agravaba las faltas del poeta en la imaginación popular; — y Menéndez y Pelayo no vaciló en publicar la *Nueva biografía* al frente de su gran edición lopiana.

Contienen la obra de La Barrera y las adiciones de Menéndez y Pelayo, numerosas *cartas* y *extractos de cartas*, en cuyo detalle no entraremos; pero si hemos de mencionar algunas poesías que se incluyen :

1 — « Por tu servicio, hermosa prenda mía » (p. 98); soneto.
2 — « Porque con tu voluntad » (p. 243); décimas.

3 — « Allá vuelven los antojos » (p. 273; vid. nº 177); décima.
4 — « Leed esos pensamientos » (p. 275; vid. nº 177); décima.
5 — « Mi sotana sin reparos » (p. 616); décima.
6 — « Llevaron a don Pedro de Mendoza » (p. 620); pareados.
7 — « Salicio a Lauro enamora » (p. 635); décima.
8 — « Que cuando D os castiga » (p. 636); sextina.
9 — « Seyano, aleves [sic] culpas graves penas » (p. 636; vid. *O. S.*, I, 274; soneto incluido en el códice Durán : vid. nº 174 *b*).
10 — « Paulo, jurisconsulto soberano » (p. 637; vid. nº 174 *b* 23); soneto.
11 — « El Júpiter español (p. 640; no es de Lope, según allí se indica; está en el códice Durán : vid. nº 174, *b*, 28); redondilla.
12 — « Pululando de culto, Claudio amigo » (p. 651; en *O. S.*, VII, 301); soneto.
13 — « Feroz el sucesor del arrogante » (p. 653; soneto dedicado a la muerte del rey de Suecia : es, con variantes, el mismo que comienza : « El sucesor del gótico arrogante ». *O. S.*, XIX, 36).
14 — « Desde la Aurora hasta la sacra pira » (p. 654; vid. nuestro nº 174, *c*, 42, códice Pidal); soneto.
15 — « Un soneto del cual sólo se copian los tres últimos versos (p. 654).
16 — « ¿ Cómo dejais vuestra madre » ? (p. 681; vid. nº 174, *c*, 15). redondillas.
17 — « A buscar esposo viene » (p. 681; vid. nº 174, *c*, 30); redondillas.

1891

180. VOLLMOLLER (KARL), en *Romanische Forschungen* (Erlangen, 1891) apuntó la posibilidad de que fueran de Lope unas estancias :

En el campo florido,

a las que ya hemos aludido en el número 66 de los presentes *Apuntes*. Véanse nuestros números 66, 202 y 211.

180 bis. PÉREZ DE GUZMÁN (JUAN). *Cancionero de la rosa*. Tomo I. Madrid, 1891.

La parte dedicada a Lope (págs. 163-173) constituye una antología de la rosa en la poesía de nuestro autor. Se copian diez y seis sonetos, todos ellos publicados ya con anterioridad.

Al tratar de López de Zárate (pág. 225) hace notar el Sr. Pérez de Guzmán que el soneto: « Esta a quién ya se le atrevió el arado » es de dicho autor, y no de Lope (vid. nuestro número 160).

1893

180 tripl. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Obras*. Edición de la R. Academia Española, publicada bajo la dirección de D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo. Tomo III. Madrid, 1893.

Contiene este tomo (en el II no hay ninguna) las dedicatorias con que Lope dirigió a varias personas algunas de sus comedias, como sigue :

1 — « La hermosa Esther », a doña Andrea de Castrillo.
2 — « Historia de Tobías », a doña María Puente Hurtado de Mendoza y Zúñiga.
3 — « La madre de la mejor », a fray Plácido de Tosantos.

Omitiremos, al dar cuenta de los tomos de esta colección, las dedicatorias que, aunque figuran en los mismos, estaban ya publicadas en la *B. A. E.*

1894

180 cuadrupl. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Obras*. Edición de la R. Academia Española publicada bajo la dirección de D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo. Tomo IV. Madrid, 1894.

Contiene las dedicatorias siguientes :

1 — « El Divino Africano », a D. Rodrigo Mascareñas.
2 — « El Capellán de la Virgen », a doña Catalina de Avilés.
3 — « El Serafín Humano », primera parte, a doña Paula Porcel de Peralta.
4 — « Lo fingido verdadero », a fray Gabriel Téllez.

1895

180 quintupl. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Obras.* Edición de la R. Academia Española, publicada bajo la dirección de D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo. Tomo V. Madrid, 1895.

Contiene las dedicatorias siguientes :

1 — « La pastoral de Jacinto », a doña Catalina Maldonado.
2 — « El rústico del cielo », a D. Francisco de Cuadros y Salazar.
3 — « La limpieza no manchada », a la Marquesa de Toral.

1896

180 sextupl. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Obras.* Edición de la R. Academia Española, publicada bajo la dirección de D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo. Tomo VI. Madrid, 1896.

Contiene las dedicatorias que siguen :

1 — « Las mujeres sin hombres », a la Sra. Marcia Leonarda (doña Marta de Nevares Santoyo).
2 — « La fábula de Perseo », a D. Antonio Domingo de Bobadilla.
3 — « El laberinto de Creta », a la Sra. Tisbe Fénix.
4 — « Las grandezas de Alejandro », al Duque de Alba.
5 — « El honrado hermano », a D. Juan Muñoz de Escobar.
6 — « El vellocino de oro », a doña Luisa Briceño de la Cueva.
7 — « El Rey sin reino », al capitán frey Alonso de Contreras.
8 — « El marido más firme », a Manuel Faria de Sosa.

1897

180 septupl. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Obras.* Edición de la R. Academia Española, publicada bajo la dirección de D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo. Tomo VII. Madrid, 1897.

Las dedicatorias incluidas en dicho tomo están en *B. A. E.*

En la introducción que puso el glorioso maestro Menéndez y Pelayo, en dicho tomo, a la comedia « El testimonio vengado » (vid. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Obras completas*, XII, 325) atri-

buye a Lope la paternidad de un romance que salió anónimo en el *Romancero General de* 1600, parte I, folio 17 v. :

Por los jardines de Chipre — andaba el niño Cupido.

Dicho romance, que constituye una versión parafrástica de cierto tema (*El Amor picado*, o *El Amor y la Abeja*) tratado ya por Teócrito (idilio XIX) y por el seudo Anacreonte (oda XL), puede verse en el *Romancero* de Durán (*B. A. E.*, XVI, núm. 1407). Procede de la *Flor de varios y nuevos romances*, primera parte, de la *Flor de romances*, primera y segunda parte, y del *Romancero general*, ya citado (vid. nuestros números 4 *bis*, 4 *tripl* y 19 *bis*). Quevedo en su traducción de Anacreonte (vid. *B. A. E.*, LXIX, 455) alude a dicho romance, sin mencionar su autor.

No da Menéndez y Pelayo las razones que tenía para atribuir este romance a Lope. El gran poeta parafraseó la oda de que venimos tratando, como lo recuerda Mz. P., en tres obras de su inmenso repertorio dramático :

a) *El testimonio vengado* (II, 3), en *B. A. E.*, XLI, 410 (vid. *Obras completas* de Mz. P., XII, 325).

b) *El Galán de la Membrilla* (II), en *Obras de Lope*, edición de la R. Academia, IX (vid. *Obras completas*, XIII, 211).

c) *Pobreza no es vileza* (III, 10), en *B. A. E.*, LII, 250 (vid. *Obras completas*, XV, 184-185).

En los dos primeros lugares se limita a parafrasear la oda; pero en el último inserta en una *letra y baile*, los cuatro primeros versos del romance citado :

Por los jardines de Chipre — andaba el niño Cupido,
entre las flores y rosas — jugando con otros niños,

y acaso sea ello el motivo que determinó a Menéndez y Pelayo a adjudicárselo a Lope, como lo indica por tres veces en los tres lugares mencionados. No puede negarse que ello indice a creerlo con alguna probabilidad.

Sin embargo, cabe la duda. Un romance estrechamente vinculado con el de que se trata, y que seguramente es obra de la misma mano :

Llegó a una venta Cupido — a la mitad del invierno.

(*Romancero general de* 1600, parte I, folio 17 v.) ha sido atribuido a Góngora, según noto en otro romance que trae Pérez Pastor, *B. M.*, II, núm. 891.

Téngase en cuenta que si Lope fué adversario declarado de Góngora, no por ello ocultó en ningún momento la sincera admiración que le profesaba. En repetidas ocasiones glosó poesías de su rival; así que, aunque el romance « Por los jardines de Chipre » fuese en realidad de Góngora, no constituiría un caso único, ni mucho menos. Recuérdense los ejemplos siguientes, que sin duda podrían aumentarse mucho con una detenida rebusca :

a) Lope glosa una poesía de Góngora (« Aprended, flores, de mí ») en *La Moza de cántaro* (II, 6); y también en *El desprecio agradecido* (II, 6).

b) Otra (« Que pida a un galán Menguilla ») en un auto (Menéndez y Pelayo, *Obras completas*, X, 39)

c) Otra (« La más bella niña ») en otro auto (Mz. P., *Obras completas*, X, 110).

d) Otra (« No son todos ruiseñores ») está recordada en una comedia de Lope, del mismo título.

e) Otra (« En un pastoral albergue »), está recordada asimismo en otra comedia de título parecido (« Un pastoral albergue »), que se duda si es o no de Lope.

Dejemos, pues, como indecisa esta atribución, que llevaría en definitiva a uno de los dos poetas, juntamente con el citado, cuatro romances :

Sacó Venus de mantillas — a Cupido un día de fiesta.
Puso Venus a Cupido — un rótulo en las espaldas.

Llegó a una venta Cupido — a la mitad del invierno.
Amedrentado Cupido — de los azotes de escuela;

y acaso algunos más análogos.

Los romances en cuestión, cuya primera publicación data a lo que parece de 1588, constituyen uno de los primeros ejemplos conocidos, dentro de la literatura castellana, del género anacreóntico, que luego había de tener tanta difusión. La sola versión castellana que sepamos les aventaje en fecha sería la del Conde de Haro, mencionada por mi ilustre amigo D. Antonio Rubió y Lluch en su hermosa tesis doctoral (*Estudio crítico bibliográfico sobre Anacreonte*, Barcelona, 1879, págs. 109-110).

Hay algún otro romance, que desde luego es de Lope, y ya de antiguo le ha sido atribuido :

Contemplando estaba Filis — a la media noche, sola.

(*Romancero general de* 1600, parte I, folio 21 v.), que tiene también carácter anacreóntico, aunque la imitación es más libre, el estilo un tanto distinto, y el mérito literario mayor, en mi opinión, que el de los otros cinco romances.

Véanse nuestros números 181 bis, y 181 quintupl.

En una de sus comedias (« Castelvines y Monteses », en *B. A. E.*, LII, 19 *a*), mencionada ya en la segunda lista de *El Peregrino* (y anterior, por lo tanto, a 1618), Lope desarrolla un tema (el Amor y la Muerte trocando sus armas), el cual figura asimismo en cierto romance (« Topáronse en una venta », en *B. A. E.*, XVI, número 1410) que tiene igual procedencia que los cinco romances anacreónticos que mencionamos, y presenta alguna similitud con los mismos.

1898

180 octupl. Vega (Lope de). *Obras*. Edición de la R. Aca-

demia Española, publicada bajo la dirección de D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo. Tomo VIII. Madrid, 1898.

Contiene las dedicatorias siguientes :

1 — « Las almenas de Toro », a D. Guillén de Castro.
2 — « El Caballero del Sacramento », a D. Luís Bravo de Acuña.
3 — « El primer rey de Castilla », a D. Fernando de Ludeña.

1899

181. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Carta a don Antonio de Mendoza*, en *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*. Madrid, tercera época, tomo III, pág. 365, junio de 1899.

Es la carta de 1628 aludida por Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, 319.

181 bis. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Obras*. Edición de la R. Academia Española, publicada bajo la dirección de D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo. Tomo IX. Madrid, 1899.

En la introducción puesta por el a la comedia « El Galán de la Membrilla », vuelve el gran maestro a atribuir a Lope el romance :

Por los jardines de Chipre,

(vid. nuestros números 181 septuplicado y 181 quintupl.).

Contiene además este tomo la dedicatoria de la comedia « El Sol parado », a D. Andrés de Rozas.

181 tripl. MIOLA (ALFONSO). *Un cancionero manoscritto brancacciano*, apud *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*, II. Madrid, 1899, págs. 683-692.

Descríbese en este trabajo un manuscrito de la Biblioteca Brancacciana, de Nápoles, que ha sido publicado después, íntegramente, por el Sr. Foulché-Delbosc (vid. nuestro número 210). Se da razón de que el *Cancionero* atribuye a Lope el romance :

Ahora vuelvo a templaros

(en *O. S.*, III, 451); así como también de que corresponde al poeta otro romance :

Dulce Filis, si me esperas.

(en *O. S.*, XVII, 450) que en el *Cancionero* figura como anónimo.

1900

181 cuadrupl. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Obras.* Edición de la R. Academia Española, publicada bajo la dirección de D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo. Tomo XI. Madrid, 1900.

Contiene las siguientes dedicatorias :

1 — « Pedro Carbonero », a D. Diego Félix de Quijada Riquelme.
2 — « El hidalgo Abencerraje », a doña Ana de Piña.

1901

181 quintupl. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Obras.* Edición de la R. Academia Española, publicada bajo la dirección de D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo. Tomo XII. Madrid, 1901.

En la introducción a la comedia « Pobreza no es vileza » vuelve Menéndez y Pelayo a atribuir a Lope aquel romance : « Por los jardines de Chipre », de que ya hemos tratado (vid. nuestros números 180 septupl. y 181 bis).

Contiene además las siguientes dedicatorias de comedias ·

1 — « Los españoles en Flandes », a Cristóbal Ferreyra de Sampayo.
2 — « La Santa Liga », a Aparicio de Oribe.
3 — « Carlos V en Francia », a Gabriel Díaz.
4 — « Arauco domado », al Marqués de Cañete.
5 — « El valiente Céspedes », a D. Alonso de Alvarado.

182. TOMILLO (A.) y PÉREZ PASTOR (C.). *Proceso de Lope de Vega, por libelos contra unos cómicos. Síguense los Datos desconocidos para la Vida de Lope de Vega.* Madrid, 1901.

Aparte de las declaraciones de Lope en el Proceso — que son materia todavía menos literaria que las aprobaciones que hemos reseñado en otros casos — contiene noticias de varias poesías, cuya pérdida, enojosa desde el punto de vista histórico y biográfico, no debemos lamentar demasiado desde el punto de vista meramente literario. Son libelos sumamente procaces contre Elena Osorio y su familia una sátira en latín macarrónico, cuyo título era :

In doctorem Damianum Velazquez,

(vid. págs. 38 y 54); un romance en agudos :

Los que algún tiempo tuvistes

(vid. págs. 21, 24, 27, 42, 49 y 50); y además un soneto :

Licenciado e dotor e caçalejas,

(vid. pág. 57).

Los comentaristas atribuyen a Lope varias poesías publicadas anónimamente y que copian íntegras en la mayor parte de los casos :

1 — « Divina Filis mía » (p. 82); la califican de « romance »; pero son « estancias ».
2 — « En competencia del dia » (p. 90; vid. nuestro nº 31).
3 — « Gallardo pasea Zaide » (p. 91).
4 — « El mayor Almoralife » (p. 95; vid. nuestro nº 189).
5 — « Mira, Zaide, que te aviso » (p. 103; vid. nuestros nºs 6, 185 y 200).
6 — « ¿ De cuando acá tantos fieros ? » (p. 106).
7 — « Después que rompiste ingrata » (p. 110).
8 — « Apártaste, ingrata Filis » (p. 112).
9 — « De la armada de su rey » (p. 127; vid. nuestro nº 210).
10 — « En la prisión está Adulce » (p. 145).
11 — « Filis, las desdichas mías »; no romance, sino redondillas (p. 177; vid. nuestro nº 184).
12 — « Atlante de los mundos de Filipo », tercetos (p. 186; vid. nuestro nº 31).

13 — « Háganme vuestras mercedes » (p. 190; vid. nuestro nº 200).
14 — « ¡ Ay, amargas soledades ! » (p. 192; vid. nuestros nºs 200 y 202).
15 — « Pues ya desprecias el Tajo » (p. 219).
16 — « Riselo, vive Dios que estoy mohino » (p. 124; vid. nuestro nº 31).

Según los datos acumulados por Durán (en los apéndices de su Romancero, *B. A. E.*, XVI), y por los anotadores del *Proceso*, las referidas poesías proceden :

a) Del *Romancero general* (vid. nuestro núm. 27) : los números 1, 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 13 y 14.

b) De la *Segunda parte del Romancero general* (vid. nuestro núm. 31) : los números 2, 12 y 16.

c) De la *Flor de varios y nuevos romances, primera y segunda parte* (vid. nuestro número 4 bis) : los números 4, 9 y 10.

d) De las *Guerras*, de Pérez de Hita (vid. nuestro núm. 6) : el número 5 (vid. también nuestro núm. 200).

e) De la *Flor de romances, cuarta y quinta parte* (vid. nuestro número 5 bis) : el número 8.

f) De la *Primavera y flor de los mejores romances, segunda parte*, de Francisco de Segura (vid. nuestro número 126 *bis*) : el nº 15.

Unas décimas con estribillo :

« Fue un galán enamorado ».

a las cuales los comentaristas aluden en la pág. 134, sin que manifiestamente las atribuyan a Lope, han sido publicadas como de Góngora (*B. A. E.*, XXXII, 504-505), si bien el Sr. Foulché-Delbosc las excluye en su edición de las *Obras de Góngora* (vid. III, 134). La alusión : « de San Andrés la encomienda », que Tomillo y Pérez Pastor creen dirigida contra Perrenot, es, clarísimamente, una imputación de ascendencia judaica. Creo que las tales décimas nada absolutamente tienen que ver con Lope de Vega.

183. Rodríguez Marín (Francisco). *Una carta inédita de Lope de Vega*, en *Revista Española*, 1901, I, 292. Los Srs. Rennert y Castro (*Vida*, 281) copian un trozo de dicha carta; la cual se refiere a Góngora, y data, al parecer, de 1630.

184. Mele (E.). *Poésies de Lope de Vega, en partie inédites*, apud *Bulletin hispanique*. Burdeos, 1901, págs. 348-364.

Estas poesías proceden del *Cancionero de Matías Duque de Estrada* (m. s. de la Bibl. Nacional de Nápoles), salvo la última de ellas, que procede de un m. s. titulado « Varia » (¿ de la misma Biblioteca ?) :

1 — « Maldito el que inventó que el mar sin dueño »; canción de un galán a una nave donde se embarcó su dama.

2 — « En un jardín Celia hermosa »; romance de un galán describiendo un jardín.

3 — « Noche fabricadora de embelecos »; publicado en *O. S.*, IV, 258.

4 — « Es la prisión un encendido fuego »; soneto de la fuerza de la prisión en los amigos mayores.

5 — « La verde yedra al verde tronco asida »; soneto a la canonización de el sancto fray Diego de Alcalá. Esta tuvo lugar el 2 de julio de 1588. El tal soneto tiene evidente semejanza con aquel otro aludido en nuestro nº 16 (vid. Restori, *Sonetti dimenticati*, 3-5).

6 — « Descansad, sospechas mías »; romance de un galán satisfecho de celoso.

7 — « Cuando me acuerdo de ti »; décimas de un galán, corrido de haber amado a una dama que le olvidaba.

8 — « No sobre el cuello cortado »; romance a los cuellos reformados.

9 — « La verde primavera »; canción de un galán que se despide de su dama; en *O. S.*, VI, 451.

10 — « Filis, las desdichas mías »; redondillas de un galán que salió desterrado por causa de su dama; en el *Romancero general* y en el *Proceso* (vid. nº 182).

11 — « ¿ A quién cantaré mis quejas ? »; en *O. S.*, VI, 136 (vid. nuestro nº 195).

12 — « En esta larga ausencia »; décimas de un galán olvidado (vid. nuestro nº 220).

13 — « Marchitas plantas, ramos, frutos, rosas »; soneto de una pastora quejosa (según el Sr. Montesinos, figura también en « El ganso de oro », y es sustancialmente el mismo que en las *Flores de poetas ilustres* comienza : « Plantas sin fruto, fértiles de rosas » ; vid. nuestros nºs 30 y 220).

14 — « Dulce, atrevido, pensamiento loco »; soneto de un galán ausente (según el mismo Sr. Montesinos, procede de la comedia : « Burlas de amor » : vid. nuestro nº 220).

15 — « ¿ Cómo puede ser, Domingo ? »; a la Purísima Concepción.

185. Serrano y Sanz (Manuel). *Un libro nuevo y un cancionero viejo*, en *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*. Madrid, 1901, págs. 320-334.

El libro nuevo es el *Proceso* (vid. nuestro número 182); el *cancionero viejo* es uno a que alude el autor en la forma que se verá : « Al publicar ahora varios romances inéditos relativos a los desdenes de Filis, no afirmamos que sean de Lope : uno consta que lo compuso Liñán de Riaza. Estos romances, que son seis, se hallan copiados en un manuscrito de la Biblioteca Nacional, rotulado *Libro de romances nuevos, hechos en el año de* 1592. Publicamos en primer término los seis romances que atañen a Lope y Elena Osorio; después algunos otros que no hemos visto impresos. Todos ellos se encuentran en los folios 2 a 65, mezclados con poesías ya conocidas ». El tal *Libro* había sido ya descrito por Durán, en uno de los apéndices de su *Romancero general* (*B. A. E.*, XVI, pág. 695 *b*).

Veamos ahora cuáles son los seis romances primeramente aludidos, que copia el Sr. Serrano y Sanz :

1 — (p. 322) « Respuesta de Liñán [al romance : » Mira, Zaide, que te aviso »] : « En valde me avisas, mora, / que no pase por tu calle ».

2 — (p. 323) « Otra respuesta : « Zaide, menos fantasía / ¿ qué quiere ser que amenace ? ».

3 — (p. 324) « Otra respuesta : « De rabia y enojo ciego / el gallardo Abencérraje ».
4 — (p. 325) « Otra respuesta : « Tan poco avisado aviso / recibió, Zaide, tu Zaida ».
5 — (p. 326) « Otro : « Hacen al fuerte Aliatar / loco desdenes de Zaida ».
6 — (p. 327) « Otro : « Engañada está Jarifa / de su misma confianza ».

Hay que advertir que el manuscrito (p. 322 del trabajo a que nos referimos) atribuye a D. Juan de Salinas el romance (en mi opinión de Lope) : « Mira, Zaide, que te aviso », cuyo texto presenta en él muchas variantes (vid. también *B. A. E.*, XVI, pág. 723).

Resulta, pues, que ninguna de estas poesías ha sido atribuida expresamente a Lope, por lo que no las incluiremos en el índice alfabético correspondiente. Dejamos la cuestión en el mismo estado en que la dejó el Sr. Serrano y Sanz, y si les damos cabida aquí, es a título de obras interesantes para la biografía del poeta.

La indicación : « romances hechos en el año de 1592 » no ha de interpretarse al pié de la letra. El *Cancionero* incluye el romance de Góngora : « Servía en Orán al Rey », que en realidad data de 1587 (*Obras de Góngora*, edic. Foulché-Delbosc, I, 95), y estaba ya impreso en 1591 (*id.*, III, 90).

1902

186. Gómez Moreno y Martínez (M.), en *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*. Madrid, 3ª época, VI, pág. 386, abril de 1902, publica una carta inédita de Lope, fechada en 1619 (vid. Rennert y Castro, *Vida*, 15).

186 bis. Vega (Lope de). *Obras*. Edición de la R. Academia Española, publicada bajo la dirección de D. Marcelíno Menéndez y Pelayo. Tomo XIII. Madrid, 1902.

En la introducción a la comedia *Un pastoral albergue*, atribuida, acaso indebidamente, a Lope, se indica que se infiere del texto de esa comedia que es obra de nuestro poeta el romance que principia :

Con aquellas blancas manos.

(en *B. A. E.*, X, núm. 413, como anónimo). Véase Menéndez y Pelayo, *Obras completas*, XV, 364-365. Según Durán (*B. A. E.*, X, 271, y XVI, 695) procede de un códice de *Poesías varias*, al parecer de la segunda mitad del siglo XVI.

Contiene además este tomo las dedicatorias de las siguientes comedias :

1 — « El premio de la hermosura », al Conde de Olivares.
2 — « La mocedad de Roldan », a D. Francisco Diego de Zayas.

1903

187. Alenda y Mira (Jenaro). *Relaciones de solemnidades y fiestas públicas de España.* Madrid, 1903.

a) En el nº 590, pág. 165, da noticia de cierta « Relación de las fiestas de Lerma, que se hicieron en el mes de octubre de 1613 », manuscrito de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (M. 86, folio 38), que contiene un fragmento de « un bien escrito diálogo », en verso, atribuido a Lope.

b) En el nº 683, pág. 188, trata de las *Fiestas de Lerma*, falsamente atribuidas a nuestro autor (vid. nuestro núm. 48).

c) En el nº 690, págs. 192-193, indica : « Fáltanos que decir la suma extrañeza con que vemos indebidamente adjudicadas a Lope de Vega las octavas del torneo [« Bien nuestras, gran Felipe, lo que espera » : vid. nuestro número 160], habiéndose incluido, sin la menor sombra de justificación, en el tomo III de sus *Obras sueltas*, impresas por D. Antonio Sancha en 1774, cuyo descuido produjo el de su repetición en la famosa *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, al revés justamente de lo

ocurrido con el otro artículo del mismo López de Zárate » [el aludido en *b*].

1904

188. RENNERT (HUGO A.). *The Life of Lope de Vega.* Glasgow, 1904.

Vid. nuestro número 198.

1906

189. PÉREZ PASTOR (CRISTÓBAL). *Biografía madrileña*, Parte II. Madrid, 1906.

Al tratar del *Romancero general*, de 1604 (nº 891, págs. 75-78), indica, con referencia a ciertas anotaciones manuscritas de ejemplares de dicho *Romancero*, que se atribuyen en ellas a Lope algunos romances. Indicaremos el primer verso de cada romance, así como, después, el lugar en que figuran como anónimos en el *Romancero general* de Durán (tomos X y XVI de la *B. A. E.*) y si figuran o no en las *Obras sueltas :*

1 — « Sale la estrella de Venus ». *B. A. E.*, X, nº 33.
2 — « El mayor Almoralife ». *B. A. E.*, X, nº 176.
3 — « Descargando el fuerte acero ». *B. A. E.*, X, nº 178.
4 — « En un tronco de un ciprés ». *B. A. E.*, XVI, nº 1538.
5 — « Amada pastora mía ». *B. A. E.*, XVI, nº 1488; *O. S.*, XVII, 407.
6 — « Por las riberas del Tajo ». *B. A. E.*, X, nº 205.
7 — « Llenos de lágrimas tristes ». *B. A. E.*, XVI, nº 1501; *O. S.*, XVII, 423.

Tratamos del romance nº 1 en los números 4 tripl., 6, 170 y 196 de los presentes *Apuntes*, y del nº 2 en el número 182.

Vid. nuestro número 220, acerca del romance « Sentado en la seca yerba ».

1908

190. *Some unpublished verses, edited by* J. P. Wickersham Cajador (apud *Revue Hispanique*, XIX, 1908, 455-465; vid. Cejardor, *Historia*, IV, 128-129).

He aquí los primeros versos de las composiciones copiadas por el Sr. Wickersham Crawford :

1 — Olas que vais y venís; romance.
2 — Encontrándose dos arroyuelos; romance.
3 — Vengo, señora, a quereros; quintillas.
4 — Mucho emprendeis, corazón; romance.
5 — Sembrando estaba papeles; romance.
6 — ¿ A donde vais, pensamiento / siguiendo aquel loco engaño. Décimas. Composición distinta, por lo tanto, del romance de *O. S.*, VII, 352.
7 — Antón labrador que rompe; romance.
8 — Los campos del Manzanares; romance.
9 — Enferma Clori de sus ojos bellos; soneto.
10 — Para cortar a Clori los cabellos; soneto.
11 — Desde la noche al alba; romance.
12 — De los toros de el aldea; romance.
13 — Silvano que va siguiendo; romance.
14 — Número salteado por el Sr. W. Crawford.
15 — Por las puertas del estío; romance.
16 — Caíase de un espino (véase nº 195); romance.
17 — Zagala del Tajo; romance.
18 — Al son de una clara fuente; romance.

El Sr. W. Crawford indica (pág. 455) que los sonetos números 9 y 10 están aludidos en una carta de Lope de fecha 30 de noviembre de 1612 (La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 176). Pero el Sr. Montesinos (vid. nuestro número 220) ha descubierto que, juntamente con otro análogo (Aunque vengarme de tu sol pudiera), han sido publicados en una comedia de Lope (« El Perseo »).

190 bis. Menéndez y Pelayo (Marcelino). *Antología*

de poetas líricos castellanos, XIII. Madrid, 1908. En las págs. 369-370, se afirma que los sonetos reseñados bajo los números 8 a 10 de nuestro número 160 son, no de Lope, sino « de Francisco López de Zárate, a quien pertenecen la mayor parte de las poesías que el Conde de Saceda, estrafalario bibliófilo y osado falsificador, atribuyó a Lope de Vega, en una edición contrahecha que parece ser de 1746 » (vid. nuestro número 160).

1909-1913

191. CATALINA (MARIANO). *La poesía lírica en el teatro antiguo*. Tomos I a XI. Madrid, 1909-1913.

Contiene multitud de trozos líricos extraídos del teatro de Lope, que exceden, por lo tanto, del objeto que nos hemos propuesto.

1912

192. FASSO (LUIGI), artículo titulado *Del carteggio di un ignoto lirico fiorentino*, apud *Scritti varii di erudizione e di critica in onore di Rodolfo Renier*. Torino, 1912, págs. 401-418 (vid. A. Farinelli, *Viages por España y Portugal*. Madrid, 1921, pág. 180) publicó (pág. 405) el siguiente soneto, que figura en el dicho *carteggio*. [Se entenderá mejor, teniendo en cuenta desde el principio, que la palabra : *ilustre*, que en él se emplea, no es adjetivo, sino verbo] :

Al señor Nicolò Strozzi,
Lope de Vega Carpio.

El verde monte adonde el Tajo leve
en sonoro cristal átomos de oro
Manzanares paga a su tesoro
por sendas de zafir líquida nieve,
en bronce eterno, en pórfido relieve,
al nombre ilustre a quién de Apolo el coro

fama inmortal, la erudición decoro,
Italia honor, España aplauso debe.
De *Carlos* y *María* el himeneo
Nicolò canta con tan dulce lira
pletro [*sic*] tan celestial, musa tan rara,
que siendo de Filipe [*sic*] heroico Orfeo,
no el bosque, el soto, el río, el monte admira :
almas suspende, magestades para.

Acaso deba leerse en el primer verso « al » y no « el ». El tercer verso es defectuoso. El « Carlos » aludido es el Príncipe de Gales, y « María », la infanta de ese nombre, hija de Felipe III. El proyectado matrimonio de ambos quedó frustrado cuando el Príncipe, que había llegado a Madrid el 26 de marzo de 1623, salió precipitadamente el 9 de septiembre del mismo año, fechas ambas entre las cuales ha de colocarse la redacción de este soneto, sea o no de Lope. Strozzi había ido a Madrid en 1623, y allí permaneció acaso hasta 1627 (Fassò, *op. cit.*, 401-402). Acompañaba a un original personaje, monseñor Mássimi, de quien se relata una extremada argucia en las *Sales españolas*, de Paz y Mélia (II, 195).

1913

193. Muret (E.). *Une lettre inédite de Lope de Vega*, apud *Mélanges offerts à M. E. Picot*. París, 1913, 2 vols (vid. *R. F. E.*, bibliografía, número 486).

194. *Romancero de Barcelona*, publicado en la *R. H.*, tomo XXIX (1913), por M. R. Foulché-Delbosc.

Publícanse como anónimas en este *Romancero* varias composiciones que son casi seguramente obra de Lope y otras que pertenecen al grupo de poetas de que formó parte (véanse los números 175 cuadr., 202 y 220 de estos *Apuntes*).

194 bis. Vega (Lope de). *Obras*. Edición de la R. Academia Española, publicada bajo la dirección de D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo. Tomo XIV. Madrid, 1913.

Contiene la dedicatoria de la comedia : « *El halcón de Federico* », a Sebastián Jaime.

194 tripl. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Obras.* Edición de la R. Academia Española, publicada bajo la dirección de D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo. Tomo XV, Madrid, 1913.

Contiene la dedicatoria de la comedia : « *El ruiseñor de Sevilla* », al licenciado D. Francisco Maldonado.

1916

195. *Cancionero poético y musical del siglo XVII, recogido por Claudio de la Sablonara y publicado por D. Jesús Aroca.* Madrid, 1918.

Contiene buen número de composiciones puestas en música por maestros estrechamente vinculados a Lope (Juan Blas de Castro, Palomares, Gabriel Díaz &). Era, pues, muy de creer que alguna de ellas perteneciese a nuestro poeta.

El Sr. Aroca (pág. 336) identificó varias de Quevedo, Góngora &, pero ninguna de Lope. En cambio el Sr. Mitjana, en el doctísimo artículo (págs. 43-44) a que aludimos en el número 199 de los presentes *Apuntes*, señaló algunas poesías del gran poeta :

Nº 4 — « Entre dos mansos arroyos » (*O. S.*, VII, 125).
Nº 16 — « Entre dos álamos verdes » (*O. S.*, VII, 21).
Nº 64 — « En una playa amena » (*O. S.*, VI, 50).
Nº 69 — « ¿ A quién contaré mis quejas ? » (*O. S.*, VI, 136).

Presumió, además, que puedan ser de Lope otras tres composiciones :

Nº 14 — « En tus brazos una noche »; romance con estribillo.
Nº 33 — « Filis del alma mía »; sextinas.
Nº 37 — « Tan triste vivo en mi aldea »; romance.

Sería conveniente revisar con cuidado esta colección, en

la cual se notan nombres (Belardo, Belisa, Amarilis) muy frecuentes en el repertorio poético de Lope y que hacen suponer que puedan pertenecer también a éste algunas otras composiciones.

La composición nº 9 (« Caíase de un espino ») ha de ser, según he observado, la misma a que aludimos en nuestro número 190.

Es muy creíble que pueda ser de Lope el romance señalado con los números 31 y 32 (« Desde las torres del alma ») el cual está hecha en nombre de Belardo.

195 bis. Barrera (Cayetano Alberto de la). *El Cachetero del Buscapié*, publicado en Santander, 1916, con prólogo del Sr. Rodríguez Marín, por el Sr. Artigas, pero redactado en 1849-1866 (pág. 1).

En las págs. 35-36 da noticia La Barrera acerca de un extravagante apasionado de Lope, el Conde de Saceda (1705-1762) a quien responsabiliza : de la edición falsificada de las *Fiestas de Denia* (vid. nº 14); de la impresión de las *Poesías varias* (vid. núm. 160); y de otras varias ediciones semicontrahechas (*Rimas sacras* y *Triunfo de la Fé*, de Lope, números 158 y 65; y *Diálogos*, de Pedro Mejía).

Hace notar que en las *Poesías varias* (vid. nuestro núm. 160) « exceptuando ocho composiciones, todas las demás son de Francisco López de Zárate, publicadas entre sus *Obras* (Alcalá, 1651, celebrada una de ellas por Lope en el *Laurel de Apolo*, donde elogiando a Zárate intercala su primer verso « Arboles compañeros de estos ríos », y otra no menos evidentemente propia de este feliz ingenio, como es la *Silva a la ciudad de Logroño, su patria*).

Vid. nuestros números 158 a 160 y 180 *bis*.

1917

196. Rodríguez Marín (Francisco), en una erudita

nota al tomo II, págs. 113-114 de las *Novelas ejemplares*, de Cervantes, Madrid, *La Lectura*, 1917, atribuye a Lope el romance :

Sale la estrella de Venus,

archifamoso en su tiempo, aludido por Góngora y por otros escritores, y del cual hemos tratado ya (vid. nuestros números 4 *tripl.*, 6, 170 y 189).

196 bis. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Obras*. Nueva edición de la R. Academia Española, publicada bajo la dirección de D. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori. Tomo III. Madrid, 1917.

Contiene las dedicatorias de dos comedias :

1 — « Los amantes sin amor »; a D. Pedro Fernandez de Mansilla.
2 — « Amor secreto hasta celos », a D. Luís de Góngora.

Repetimos aquí la advertencia que hicimos al final de nuestro número 180 tripl.

196 tripl. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Obras*. Nueva edición de la R. Academia Española, publicada bajo la dirección de D. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori. Tomo IV, Madrid, 1917.

Contiene las dedicatorias de las siguientes comedias :

1 — « El Caballero de Illescas », al maestro Vicente Espinel.
2 — « El Caballero del Milagro », a Pedro de Herrera.
3 — « Con su pan se lo coma », a Da. Francisca Salvador.
4 — « El Cuerdo loco », a D. Tomás Tamayo de Vargas.
5 — « El Desconfiado », al maestro Alonso Sánchez.
6 — « El desposorio encubierto », al licdo. Jacinto de Piña.

En la dedicatoria a Espinel incluye ciertas redondillas, que comienzan :

Cantó y escribió Espinel.

¿ 1917 ?

197. *Poesías inéditas de Herrera el Divino, Quevedo, Lope*

de Vega, Argensola (Lupercio)... Editorial América. Madrid, sin a.

La palabra *inéditas* tenía sin duda para el colector anónimo de este libro un sentido muy especial. Por eso dió por no publicados ciertos sonetos de Góngora que cualquier lector medianamente culto identifica a primera vista. En lo relativo a Lope (págs. 61 a 85) el *modus operandi* consistió al parecer en buscar lo *inédito* dentro de las comedias... *publicadas*. Veamos, por ejemplo, los cuatro *Sonetos* que figuran en las págs. 81 a 85 :

> No es tan robusta sobre el alta sierra;
> Rompe una peña el agua cuando estriba;
> Halla con lengua, lágrimas y ruego;
> Ya sólo de mi engaño me sustento.

Pues bien, todos ellos figuran, *por el mismo orden*, en las págs. 59, 71, 71 y 100 del tomo XXIV (*Comedias de Lope*, I) de la *B. A. E.*

Otro soneto :

> Agradar al discreto, al más mirado » (pág. 64),

sospecho que ha de formar parte también de alguna comedia. Ciertos trozos y fragmentos, sin mayor importancia, parecen tener la misma procedencia.

Señalo conjeturalmente a este libro la fecha de 1917 que lleva otro de la misma Biblioteca (vid. Palau, *Manual*, III, 371).

1918

197 bis. Millé y Giménez (Juan). *Un soneto interesante para las biografías de Lope y de Quevedo*, artículo publicado en la revista *Helios*, dirigida por D. Manuel Conde Montero, Buenos Aires, agosto de 1918, núm. 2, págs. 92-110. Se

refiere este artículo al soneto « Vos de Pisuerga nuevamente Anfriso » (núm. 128 de los *Doscientos sonetos*).

En una de las notas de ese artículo (pág. 93) hacíamos referencia a las poesías de López de Zárate, a las cuales se había dado cabida en *O. S.* y en *B. A. E.*, XXXVIII. Véase nuestro número 160, así como los demás en él mencionados.

197 tripl. CASTRO (AMÉRICO). *Datos para la vida de Lope de Vega.* I. *Una justa poética en Toledo*, en *R. F. E.* Madrid, 1918, págs. 398-403. Contiene la descripción del libro aludido en nuestro número 38, y otros datos muy interesantes acerca de la justa poética celebrada en Toledo, en 1608.

197 cuadrupl. VEGA (LOPE DE). *Obras.* Nueva edición de la R. Academia Española, publicada bajo la dirección de D. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori. Tomo V. Madrid, 1918.

Contiene las dedicatorias de las siguientes comedias :

1 — « Los esclavos libres », a D. Juan Antonio de Vera y Zúñiga.
2 — « El favor agradecido », a Pedro de Tapia.
3 — « La Felisarda », a D. Juan Antonio de Vera y Zúñiga.
4 — « La Francesilla », al licenciado Juan Pérez [de Montalbán].

1919

198. RENNERT (HUGO A.) y CASTRO (AMÉRICO). *Vida de Lope de Vega.* Madrid, 1919.

Es en parte una traducción algo libre de la obra a que se refiere nuestro número 188, y en parte obra personal del Sr. Castro.

Contiene (págs. 531-534) un « Apéndice bibliográfico sobre las obras no dramáticas de Lope de Vega », además de numerosas indicaciones y datos del mismo orden, que han sido ya recogidos en los lugares correspondientes del presente trabajo.

Romances publicados anónimamente, que se atribuyen en esta obra a Lope :

p. 66 — « Gallardo en armas y trajes » (vid. nuestro nº 7 bis).
p. 66 — « ¿ Di, Zaida, de qué me avisas ? » (vid. *B. A. E.*, X, nº 58).
p. 67 — « Mira, Zaida, que te digo » (vid. *B. A. E.*, X, nº 57).

Romances publicados anónimamente, cuya atribución a Lope tienen los autores por dudosa :

p. 77 — « Hería el sol a las cumbres ».
p. 77 — « Después que acabó Belardo ».
p. 81 — « ¿ Qué se me da a mí que el mundo ? ».
p. 81 — « De ver una escura cueva ».

Respecto al primero y al último véase lo que decimos al dar cuenta en nuestro número 162 de los romances del tomo XVII de *O. S.* Creemos también que no son de Lope. En cuanto al segundo, Lope parece reconocerlo en « Mil años ha que no canto » (*O. S.*, XVII, 440) : « revocan mis testamentos ». « Después que acabó Belardo » es el segundo testamento, así como el primero es : « De una recia calentura ».

Vid. también nuestros números 61 y 176.

199. Mitjana (Rafael). *Comentarios y apostillas al « Cancionero poético y musical del siglo XVII », recogido por Claudio de la Sablonara y publicado por D. Jesús Aroca*, apud *R. F. E.*, 1919, págs. 14-56 y 233-267.

Vid. nuestro número 195.

200. *Romancerillos de la Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, publicados en la *R. H.*, 1919, XLV, 510-624, por R. Foulché-Delbosc.

En el *Index* señala el Sr. Foulché como obra de Lope los siguientes romances, que figuran anónimos en los *Romancerillos :*

Nº 10 — « Dí, Zaida, ¿ de qué me avisas ? » (vid. nuestro nº 198).
Nº 23 — « Cuando yo peno de veras » (*O. S.*, XVII, 430).

Nº 48 — « Mira, Zaide, que te aviso » (vid. nuestros nºs 6 y 182).
Nº 76 — « Háganme vuestras mercedes » (vid. nuestro nº 182).
Nº 83 — « ¡ Ay, amargas soledades ! » (vid. nuestro nº 182).
Nº 100 — « De pechos sobre una torre » (*O. S.*, XVII, 453).

Los *Romancerillos* contienen, además, los romances siguientes :

Nº 4 — « Otra vez vuelvo a templaros ».
Nº 27 — « Toledo, ciudad famosa ».
Nº 28 — « Ardiéndose estaba Troya ».
Nº 43 — « Ponte a las rejas azules ».
Nº 87 — « Mirando el corriente río ».

a que en otros lugares hemos aludido (vid. nuestros números 127 bis y 202). Todos los romances citados, salvo uno, el nº 100, que no lleva fecha, se imprimieron entre 1593 y 1594. Véase nuestro número 5 tripl.

1920

200 bis. FOULCHÉ-DELBOSC (R.) y BARRAU-DIHIGO (L.). *Manuel de l'hispanisant.* Tomo I. New York, 1920.

En la parte referente a *Bibliografías monográficas* se incluye (págs. 148-150, núms. 885-890) una relación de las bibliografías consagradas a Lope de Vega.

1921

200 tripl. MILLÉ Y GIMÉNEZ (JUAN). *Un epigrama latino de Lope de Vega*, artículo publicado en *R. H.*, LI, 175-182, año 1921. Véase el nº 54 de los presentes *Apuntes.*

1922

201. MONTESINOS (JOSÉ F.). *Dos cartas inéditas de Lope de Vega* (en la *R. F. E.*, IX, 1922, p. 323-326).

Una carta en latín al papa Urbano VIII corresponde a 1627 y fué contestada por el cardenal Barberini, en nombre del Papa, con otra que puede verse en La Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, 409. La otra carta, al Duque de Sessa, no lleva fecha.

202. Millé y Giménez (Juan). *Lope de Vega en la Armada Invencible*, apud *R. H.*, LVI, 1922, p. 356-395.

En la pág. 364, desconociendo todavía lo manifestado por Milá (vid. nº 175 cuadr.) acerca del *Romancero de Barcelona* (vid. nº 194), escribí : « Ultimamente he notado romances muy interesantes para la biografía de Lope en el *Romancero de Barcelona*, publicado en la *Revue Hispanique* (t. XXIX) por el señor Foulché-Delbosc. Sea muestra el que comienza « Ardiéndose estaba Troya » (número 7), cuyo estribillo « *¡Fuego!*, dan voces, *¡fuego!*, suena » / y sólo Paris dice : « Abraza, Elena », debe relacionarse con un pasaje de *La Dorotea* (edic. Américo Castro, 284), en el cual se cita, o bien el mismo estribillo mal transcripto (« y sólo Paris dice : « Abrase a Elena ») o quizá mejor, otro romance (¿ de Lope, parodiando al ya citado ?) que cantaban « los músicos del Duque de Alba ». También está citado en *La Dorotea* (pág. 107) otro romance : « ¡Oh gustos de amor traidores! », que figura asimismo en el *Romancero* (número 39). Lope parece darlo por ajeno. Son interesantes, del mismo modo, y quizá obra de nuestro autor, las composiciones números 3, 14, 17, 23, 54, 56, 81, 83, 96, 99 y 103 de la misma colección. La número 94 es de factura muy parecida a la número 7, anteriormente citada ».

Las composiciones del *Romancero de Barcelona*, a que se alude, son las siguientes :

Núm. 3 — « Toledo, ciudad famosa »; romance.
— 7 — « Ardiendo se estaba Troya »; romance con estribillo.
— 14 — « Mirando está de Sagunto » (*O. S.*, XVII, 454); romance.
— 17 — « ¡ Ay, amargas soledades ! » (vid. nuestro nº 182); romance con estribillo.

Núm. 23 — « Mirando el corriente río »; romance con estribillo.
— 39 — « ¡ Oh gustos de amor traidores ! »; romance con estribillo.
— 54 — « En un campo florido » (otra version comienza : « En el campo florido » : vid. nuestros nos 66 y 180); sextinas.
— 56 — « ¡ Ay, despreciada vega ! »; sextinas.
— 81 — « Al pié de un olmo escarchado » (*O. S.*, XVII, 451); romance con estribillo.
— 83 — « Peñas del Tajo deshechas »; romance.
— 94 — « A las temerosas voces »; romance con estribillo.
— 96 — « Campo inútil de pizarras »; romance con estribillo.
— 99 — « ¿ Quién es aquél que camina ? »; romance con estribillo.
— 103 — « Otras veces me habeis visto »; romance con estribillo.

La composición número 96 (« Campo inútil de pizarras / ribera agostada y seca ») debe eliminarse. Es de Quevedo, entre cuyas obras estaba impresa de antiguo (vid. edición de Bibliófilos Andaluces, por Menéndez y Pelayo, II, 379), según lo hizo notar, rectificando nuestro trabajo, el Sr. Montesinos (vid. el número 220 de los presentes *Apuntes*). Añadiremos ahora que efectivamente Quevedo alude al segundo verso de dicho romance en otro que comienza : « Diéronme ayer la minuta » (ed. cit., II, 39). « Campo inútil de pizarras » resulta ser la primera poesía de Quevedo de fecha conocida. Estaba ya impresa en 1596, cuando Quevedo tenía 16 años, en el *Romancerillo* número XI de los *Romancerillos de Pisa*, reeditados en 1925 por el Sr. Foulché-Delbosc (vid. nuestro número 209 : « Campo inútil de pizarras» es el romance núm. 69 de dicha colección), en tanto que la primera poesía recogida por Menéndez y Pelayo, en su referida edición de 1903, data de 1599.

Lo de : « Abraza, Elena » resulta ser mala transcripción del *Romancero de Barcelona*. El texto impreso de uno de los

Romancerillos de la Ambrosiana (vid. nuestro número 200) indica (pág. 543) la verdadera lección (« ¡Abrase a Elena! »), concordante con la de *La Dorotea*. El tal romance hubo de figurar entre los más difundidos. Aluden a él no sólo el *Entremés de los romances* (apud Adolfo de Castro, *Varias obras inéditas de Cervantes*. Madrid, 1874, 174) sino también, a lo que parece,el seudo Avellaneda (*Quijote* apócrifo, cap. VIII, edic. de Barcelona, 1905, prologada por Menéndez y Pelayo, pág. 68 : « diciendo : fuego suena, fuego suena, que se nos alza Troya con Elena ») y Luís Martín de la Plaza (soneto : « En rota nave sin timón ni antena », núm. 25 de las *Flores de poetas ilustres :* vid. nuestro número 30).

También el propio Lope, en dos comedias recordadas por el Sr. Montesinos (*R. F. E.*, 1926, 152), alude a dicho romance.

En una nota del trabajo de que venimos dando cuenta (pág. 370) aludíamos también a cierto soneto (« Adiós, solteras de embelecos llenas »), haciendo notar que figura en las *Flores de poetas ilustres*, y en la comedia de Lope : « *El Galán escarmentado* » (vid. nuestros números 30 y 207 *dupl.*).

203. Castro (Américo). *Una comedia de Lope de Vega condenada por la Inquisición.* Artículo que apareció en *R. F. E.*, 1922, 311-314. Se inserta, en facsímil y transcripción, una instancia de Lope al dicho Tribunal, fechada en 21 de octubre de 1608, poniéndola en relación con la comedia : *El Divino Africano*. Véase nuestro número 204.

1923

204. Rodríguez Marín (Francisco). *Nuevos datos para las biografías de cien escritores de los siglos XVI y XVII.* Madrid, 1923.

Incluye, en las págs. 474-480, una declaración de Lope, fecha 14 de marzo de 1629, en el proceso de beatificación del padre Simón de Rojas, que está reseñada en el número 174

(c. 54) de los presentes *Apuntes ;* y una instancia del mismo (en facsímil y transcripción) que es la aludida en nuestro número 203.

204 bis. MILLÉ Y GIMÉNEZ (JUAN). *Lope de Vega traductor de Claudiano,* artículo publicado en la revista *Verbum,* Buenos Aires, mayo de 1923, págs. 63-70.

Se demostraba en dicho artículo que contra lo afirmado por La Barrera (*Nueva biografía,* 565 : vid. también las págs. 31 y 39) Lope no escribió su traducción del poema *De raptu Proserpinae,* de Claudiano, precisamente a los diez años, sino en su infancia (entendido este término dentro de la amplitud que el gran poeta solía concederle).

Se llamaba la atención, asimismo, sobre una indicación de Rosell (en *B. A. E.,* XXXVIII, 526 *c* : nota de *Ediciones que se han tenido presentes*) según la cual « don Nicolás Antonio cita una edición del *Romancero espiritual,* de Cuenca, de Salvador Viader, que contiene *El robo de Proserpina, La Rosa Blanca, La mañana de San Juan* y *Catorce romances a la pasión de Cristo N. S.* ».

Aunque con mucha duda, formulaba la sospecha de que existiese la edición de *El robo de Proserpina* a que aludía Rosell. Con posterioridad, un más atento examen del pasaje de Nicolás Antonio (*Bibliotheca Hispana Nova.* Madrid, 1788, II, 78), me ha convencido de que se trata meramente de un error de Rosell. La enumeración de D. Nicolás Antonio comprende obras sin indicación de lugar, fecha y tamaño de la impresión, al lado de otras seguidas de esas indicaciones. *El robo de Proserpina, La Rosa blanca* y *La mañana de San Juan,* que se siguen por ese mismo orden, están en el primer caso, y ello se explica por tratarse de una obra nunca impresa (la primera), y de otras dos incluidas en una colección que lleva el nombre de otra obra de mayor importancia (*La Circe :* vid. nuestro número 92). Los *Catorce romances,* que siguen inmediatamente, sí que tienen indicación

de impresión (Cuenca, Salvador Viader, 1620, en 16º), y Rosell ha referido esta indicación inmotivadamente a las tres obras anteriores, dando además al conjunto un título (*Romancero espiritual*) que no figura en la obra de Nicolás Antonio.

Véanse los números 73 cuadrupl., 156 bis y 174 de los presentes *Apuntes*.

1924

205. Gillet (Joseph E.). *A forgotten sonnet of Lope de Vega*, apud *Modern Language Notes*, XXXIX, nº 7, nov. 1924, págs. 440-441.

Trae de nuevo a la bibliografía de Lope el soneto aludido en nuestro número 16.

206. Icaza (Francisco A. de). *Las cartas de Lope de Vega*, artículo publicado en la *Revista de Occidente*. Madrid, julio 1924, págs. 1-42, que incluye algunas cartas inéditas de Lope.

207. Machado (M.). *Un códice precioso : manuscrito autógrafo de Lope de Vega*, en *Revista de la Biblioteca, Archivo y Museo del Ayuntamiento de Madrid*, 1924, I, 208-221 (*Bibliografía*, de la *R. F. E.*, número 13703).

Se da razón en este trabajo de un códice de poesías de Lope que perteneció a Durán y que contiene, entre otras poesías, la égloga *Antonia*, que se creía perdida. Sin duda es la égloga de nuestro número 174 (*b*, 50 y 52).

Vid. nuestros números 207 bis, 215 y 233.

207 bis. Machado (M.). *La égloga « Antonia ». Una obra inédita de Lope de Vega*, en la misma revista citada en nuestro número anterior, 1924, I, 458-492 (*Bibliografía de R. F. E.*, nº 14059).

Véase nuestros números 207, 215 y 223.

207 tripl. Montesinos (José S.). *Contribución al estudio de la lírica de Lope de Vega* (en *R. F. E.*, 1924, 298-311).

Dedicado principalmente este artículo a señalar los sonetos

de Lope que figuran a la vez en sus comedias y en sus obras no dramáticas, nos interesa recoger de él la observación de que los que comienzan :

> Hermosas plantas, fértiles de rosas,
> Adiós solteras, de embelecos llenas,

incluidos en las *Flores de poetas ilustres* (vid. nuestro número 30), forman parte asimismo de las comedias *El ganso de oro* y *El galán escarmentado*. Al último de ellos nos habíamos referido ya, con anterioridad (vid. nuestro núm. 202).

207 cuadrupl. DIEGO (GERARDO). *Egloga en la muerte de doña Isabel de Urbina*, de Pedro de Medina Medinilla. Edición y prólogo de... Sin lugar. Imprenta de la Atalaya, 1924.

Se refiere dicho trabajo a cierta égloga en que Pedro de Medina Medinilla lloró la muerte (1595) de doña Isabel de Urbina, primera mujer de Lope. Éste hubo de publicar la tal égloga mucho después (1621), en *La Filomena* (vid. nuestro número 74), como ejemplo comprobatorio de sus teorías contrarias al culteranismo de Góngora y sus secuaces. Determinaba, pues, la publicación de dicha poesía, el mismo propósito polémico que había de mover a Quevedo a sacar a luz, en 1631, las poesías de fray Luís de León y las de Francisco de la Torre. La impresión, también póstuma (1626), de las poesías de Francisco de Figueroa, por Luís Tribaldos de Toledo, muy amigo de Lope, respondería probablemente a un motivo análogo. Pero todo había de ser en vano : las nuevas fórmulas literarias seguían su curso.

El Sr. Gerardo Diego propugna una nueva valoración estética de la égloga : tarea en la cual, naturalmente, no hemos de seguirle, puesto que excede de nuestro próposito. Sí haremos notar, en cambio, algunas observaciones del autor acerca de romances :

a) Atribuye a Lope (vid. pág. 102) el romance que comienza :

Cantüesos y tomillos,

(*Romancero general* de 1600, parte VII, folio 252; *B. A. E.*, XVI, número 1519). Téngase en cuenta que aunque en dicho romance se menciona a Belardo, su redacción parece pertenecer, más bien, a Lisardo. Acaso es obra de don Luís de Vargas Manrique, que usó ese sobrenombre arcádico reiteradamente.

b) Agrupa los romances siguientes, que a su juicio aluden a los amores y prisión del duque de Alba don Antonio :

1 — « Albanio, un pastor de Tirso;
2 — « Sobre unas tajadas rocas »;
3 — « Mirando un corriente río » (¿ el mismo de nuestros nos 200 y 202 ?);
4 — « Vestido un gabán leonado »;
5 — « Entre las penas de amor »;
6 — « Bajo las escadas sombras ».

Todos ellos figuran en el *Romancero general* de 1600 (parte VI, folio 185 v.; VI, 186; VI, 233; VI, 237; VIII, 294 v.; y IX, 339, respectivamente), y uno sólo (el número 2) en el *Romancero* de Durán (*B. A. E.*, XVI, núm. 1466).

Para el autor, estos romances podrían acaso ser de Lope o de Medina Medinilla. Como la atribución está hecha en forma tan dubitativa, nos limitaremos a dar cuenta aquí de ella, sin incluir los dichos romances en el *Indice* respectivo.

Es interesante la evocación, que hace el Sr. G. Diego, de Pedro de Medina Medinilla, amigo íntimo de Lope, a quién resulta corresponder — según el testimonio, exhumado por el autor, del códice 753 del *Catálogo de los manuscritos de Gayangos* — un romance (« Miraba dos jilguerillos ») del *Romancero general* de 1600 (parte IX, folio 317 : vid. *B. A. E.*,

XVI, núm. 1540) alusivo también a las amores del Duque D. Antonio. Rectificaremos un dato que trae el autor (pág. 25). El Medinilla aludido por Cervantes en el *Viaje del Parnaso* no es Pedro de Medina Medinilla, sino Baltasar Elisio de Medinilla (vid. *Viaje del Parnaso*, edic. de Schevill y Bonilla, págs. 30 y 153). Por cierto que el pasaje de Cervantes a que alude el Sr. Diego nos proporciona los medios de identificar el tal romance « de la tumba oscura, entre cipreses puestos en hilera ». No es otro, a nuestro juicio, que el que comienza : « Funestos y altos cipreses », que figura lo mismo en el *Romancero general* de 1600 (parte IV, folio 94 v.), que en los *Romancerillos de Pisa* (núm. 21, impreso ya en 1598), y en los *Romancerillos de la Ambrosiana* (núm. 1, impreso ya en 1593). « Funestos y altos cipreses » es un romance que debió de gozar cierta nombradía. Se alude a él en los *Cuentos de D. Juan de Arguijo* (*Sales españolas*, de Paz y Mélia, II, 159). Resulta ser obra, pues, de Baltasar Elisio de Medinilla, cuyo sobrenombre arcádico sería en este caso Menalio. Acaso será también de él otro romance (« Quien dijere que la ausencia », *Romancero general*, parte IX, folio 351) en el que se emplea el mismo seudónimo arcádico.

1925

208. Artigas (Miguel). *Un opúsculo inédito de Lope de Vega. El Anti-Jáuregui del Liz. D. Luís de la Carrera*, apud *Boletín de la R. Academia Española*, XII, diciembre de 1925, págs. 587-592 (artículo del Sr. Artigas), y 592-605 (opúsculo de Lope, bajo el seudónimo ya indicado). Véase también nuestro trabajo *Jáuregui y Lope* en *Estudios de literatura española*. La Plata, 1928, págs. 229-245, o en el *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo*. Santander, 1926.

209. Foulché-Delbosc (R.). *Les Romancerillos de Pisa*, apud *R. H.*, LXV, 1925.

En el *Index* señala el Sr. Foulché como atribuidos a Lope los siguientes romances, que en los *Romancerillos* aparecen anónimos :

Núm. 3 — « Di, Zaida, ¿ de qué me avisas?» (vid. nuestro nº 198).
— 30 — « De pechos sobre una torre » (vid. *O. S.*, XVII, 453).
— 98 — « Ay, amargas soledades » (vid. nuestro nº 182).
— 106 — « Mirando está de Sagunto » (vid. *O. S.*, XVII, 454).

Y como de atribución dudosa, aquel otro :

Núm. 68 — « Besando siete cabezas » (vid. *O. S.*, III, 461 y nuestro nº 160).

El Sr. Montesinos (vid. nuestro número 220) piensa que pueda ser de nuestro poeta aquel ótro :

Nº 83 — « A los hierros de una reja »;

así como le atribuye también (vid. nuestros números 66 y 211) otro romance :

Nº 2 — « Segunda vez desterrado »

que es una nueva versión, con variantes de importancia, de aquel que comienza de igual manera y a que ya aludimos (nº 66). Pero si en aquella versión se trata de Belardo (sobrenombre poético de Lope) en ésta se menciona a Lisardo (que es el nombre arcádico de D. Luís de Vargas Manrique; vid. Tomillo y Pérez Pastor, *Proceso*, 197). Me inclinaría, más bien, a la atribución a Lope; pero bueno es señalar el caso, como muestra de la cautela con que conviene proceder en estos asuntos. Vid. también nuestro número 160, y nuestro número 127 bis.

Todos los romances citados, con excepción del nº 83 (y del nº 1), que no llevan fecha, se imprimieron en 1595-1598 (vid. nuestro número 7 *tripl.*

210. Foulché-Delbosc (R.). *Romancero de la Biblioteca*

Brancacciana, apud *R. H.*, LXV, 1925. Manuscrito en esta ocasión por primera vez publicado; pero conocido ya desde 1899 (vid. nuestro número 181 triplicado).

En el *Index* señala el Sr. Foulché como atribuido a Lope el romance anónimo de este *Romancero*,

Nº 54 — « Ahora vuelvo a templaros »

que figura en *O. S.* (III, 451) y que es de origen bastante dudoso (vid. nuestro número 160). El *Romancero* la copia con el epígrafe « Romanze de Lope de Vega ».

Figuran también en esta colección, como anónimos :

Nº 38 — « Dulce Filis, si me esperas » (*O. S.*, XVII, 450).
— 54 — « De la armada de su rey » (vid. nuestro nº 182).

Creo que pueda ser de Lope otro romance :

Nº 35 — « Regalando el tierno vello / de la boca de Medoro » (también en *B. A. E.*, X, nº 410).

que recuerda expresiones análogas de *La Dorotea* (hombres y no rapaces, que con la saliva de las mujeres les sale el bozo » (edic. de D. Américo Castro, pág. 8); « esos regalos de tu boca, cuyo primero bozo nació en mi aliento » (id., 12); « aquel bozo que nació en mis labios con el enamorado anhélito de mis suspiros » (id., 279). Véase lo dicho acerca de este romance en nuestro número 27.

211. MONTESINOS (JOSÉ F.). *Contribución al estudio de la lírica de Lope de Vega*, en *R. F. E.*, 1925, p. 284-290.

En este trabajo, el Sr. Montesinos :

a) Vuelve a atribuir a Lope ciertas estancias :

En el campo florido

procedentes del *Laberinto amoroso* (vid. nuestro número 66) que ya Vollmöller había sospechado correspondiesen a

nuestro poeta (vid. nuestro número 180) y que son las mismas procedentes del *Romancero de Barcelona*, que comienzan :

En un campo florido,

que nosotros habíamos sospechado que eran probablemente obra de Lope (vid. nuestro número 202).

b) Da cuenta de una versión, procedente del *Romancero general*, y distinta de la que figura en la *Arcadia*, de la canción :

Sola esta vez quisiera

(*O. S.*, VI, 88).

c) Atribuye decididamente a Lope dos romances también procedentes del *Laberinto :*

Al humilde Manzanares » (vid. nuestro nº 66) ; y « Segunda vez desterrado » (vid. nuestros nºs 66 y 209, especialmente este último número). El último romance aludido apareció ya en 1598, en Valencia, en cierta *Silva de varios romances*, según el Sr. Montesinos (*R. F. E.*, 1926, págs. 155-156).

212. Vega (Lope de). *Poesías líricas.* I. *Primeros romances. Letras para cantar. Sonetos.* Edición, prólogo y notas de José F. Montesinos. Madrid, La Lectura, 1925.

Esta nueva edición, aparte de las valiosas anotaciones, de los materiales líricos espigados en el inmenso campo del teatro de Lope, y de las obras ya atribuidas a éste — contiene, como nueva aportación al acervo de nuestro poeta, el romance :

Oh dura y terrible ausencia

(pág. 99), procedente del *Romancero general.*

213. Millé y Giménez (Juan). *Miscelánea erudita.* IV. *Poesías de López de Zárate atribuidas a Lope de Vega*, en *R. H.*, New York-Paris, 1925.

Se excluyen de la obra de Lope todas las poesías reseñadas en el número 160 de los presentes *Apuntes* con excep-

ción de ocho (números 8 a 10, 13, y 18 a 21). Las conclusiones de ese artículo están incluidas y completadas en el dicho nº 160 del presente trabajo, al cual nos remitimos.

214. RESTORI (ANTONIO). *Un autoplagio di Lope de Vega ?* en *Atti della Società Ligustica di Scienze e Lettere*, vol. IV. Pavía, 1925.

Se trata de las coincidencias entre dos composiciones de Lope a que nos hemos referido en nuestros números 63 y 120.

215. MACHADO (M.). *Otra poesía inédita de Lope de Vega*, en *Revista de la Bibl., Archivo y Museo del Ayuntamiento de Madrid*. 1925, II, 431-433 (*Bibliografía*, de *R. F. E.*, nº 15478).

Sin duda pertenecerá también esta poesía al códice Durán (vid. números 174 *b*, 207 y 207 *bis* de estos *Apuntes*).

1926

216. COSSÍO (JOSÉ M. DE). Lección de rigor por *Lope de Vega*, en *Revista de Occidente*. Madrid, enero de 1926, págs. 130-134.

Se refiere a las correcciones que Lope introdujo en la canción « Pues que ya de mis versos y pasiones » de las *Flores* (vid. nuestro número 30) al publicarla de nuevo (« Ya pues que todo el mundo mis pasiones ») en las *Rimas* de Burguillos (vid. nuestro número 140).

217. ICAZA (FRANCISCO A. DE). *Lope de Vega. Sus amores y sus odios*. Segovia, Gran establec tipogr. de « El Adelantado de Segovia », sin año. El Sr. Cotarelo (*Sobre quién fuese el raptor de la hija de Lope de Vega*, en *Rev. de la Bibl. Arch. y Museo del Ayuntamiento de Madrid*, 1925, pág. 10 de la tirada aparte) dice que esta obra se publicó en 1924; pero creo que no salió hasta 1926.

El autor pensaba publicar el *Epistolario* completo del gran poeta; pero no llegó a hacerlo. En esta obra se refiere en ocasiones a algunas de las cartas todavía inéditas.

218. Restori (Antonio). *Sonetti dimenticati di Lope de Vega*, en la revista *La Rassegna*. Génova, 1926, números 4-5. Copia los sonetos :

« La verde yedra al olmo antiguo asida »,
« La verde yedra al verde tronco asida »,
« A la inmortalidad os mueve y llama »,
« Describe Tulio un orador discreto »,
« Traspuesta planta al castellano suelo »,
« Si el águila, de Europa emperatriz »,

a que ya nos hemos referido (véanse nuestros números 16, 184, 4, 7, 7 y 29, respectivamente), de los cuales los cuatro últimos figuraban entre *los sonetos olvidados* del gran poeta y son restituidos por el Sr. Restori al conocimiento de sus apasionados.

219. Vega (Lope de). *Poesías líricas*. II. *Canciones. Epístolas. Romances. Poemas diversos*. Edición, prólogo y notas de José F. Montesinos. Madrid, *La Lectura*, 1926. Véase nuestro número 212. Todas las composiciones publicadas en este tomo II estaban ya atribuidas a Lope.

220. Montesinos (José F.). *Notas sobre algunas poesías de Lope de Vega*, en *R. F. E.*, 1926, págs. 139-176. Trabajo importantísimo, lleno de observaciones y datos sumamente interesantes para nuestro objeto. Procuraremos resumirlo, en la parte que entra dentro del plan que nos hemos trazado :

a) *Sobre el romance :* « *Sentado en la seca yerba* ». Ya hemos aludido a este romance en nuestro número 162 (*O. S.*, XVII). El Sr. Montesinos (págs. 139-141) se inclina a la atribución del mismo a Lope, no obstante lo que un antiguo anotador del *Romancero* dijo acerca de él. Somos en absoluto de su opinión. Añadiremos que dado que algunas letras (las que subrayamos) han sido cortadas al encuadernar el ejemplar, el pasaje podría acaso recibir otras interpretaciones, además de la que Pérez Pastor (*Proceso*, 117) propone. Claro está

que habría que examinar, ante todo, el ejemplar del *Romancero* de que se trata; pero, en fin, valga por lo que valiere, apuntaremos que podría acaso leerse : « *Díx*ole Pº de osu*na* a lope, su amigo & », en lugar de : « *Hízo*le & »; y así no habría ya ninguna dificultad.

b) *Sobre el romance :* « *De ver una escura cueva* ». Véase asimismo lo que dijimos en nuestro número 162 (*O. S.*, XVII). Creemos, como el Sr. Montesinos (pág. 140), que este romance pertenece a Liñán, entre cuyas obras estaba ya publicado desde 1876, y no a Lope.

c) *Sobre algunos romances de Lope en el « Romancero de Barcelona »* (véanse nuestros números 194, 202 y otros). El Sr. Montesinos (págs. 141-157) analiza con gran detenimiento las composiciones de este *Romancero*. Comienza por aludir a que nosotros habíamos ya señalado — aunque « muy de pasada », según dice — algunas de ellas a la curiosidad de los eruditos, como presumibles obras de Lope. Pero — añade después — « algunos de los números que Millé indica no deben tomarse en consideración, por ejemplo el 96 : « Campo inútil de pizarras » &. El lector puede pasar la vista por la relación que figura en el número 202 de los presentes *Apuntes* y comparándola con el trabajo del Sr. Montesinos comprobará fácilmente que :

1. El núm. 3 : « Toledo, ciudad famosa », « parece obra de Lope », según el Sr. Montesinos (págs. 148 y 150).

2. El núm. 7 : « Ardiéndose estaba Troya », « es también verosímilmente de Lope » (id., 152).

3. El núm. 14 : « Mirando está de Sagunto », es una de las poesías « atribuidas ya de antiguo a Lope » (*O. S.*, XVII, 454), a que se refiere el Sr. Montesinos (id., 141).

4. El núm. 17 : « Ay, amargas soledades » está en el mismo caso del anterior (id., 141).

5. El núm. 23 : « Mirando el corriente río », parece también obra de Lope (id., 147 y 150).

6. El núm. 39 : « Oh gustos de amor traidores », al cual aludimos como citado en *La Dorotea* (III, 1) : « Aunque Lope parece darlo por ajeno » (« *Don Fernando*... Bien dijo aquel poeta »), le parece al Sr. Montesinos (id., 153) que a pesar de todo es de Lope. Sea en buen hora. Con mayor razón no figurará entonces entre los que no deben tomarse en cuenta.

7. El núm. 54 (sextinas : « En un campo florido », o, en otra versión : « En el campo florido ») del cual ya hemos tratado (vid. nuestros números 66, 180, 202 y 211) es « de segura atribución » al poeta (id., 156).

8. El núm. 56 (sextinas : « Ay, despreciada vega »), resulta, según observación del Sr. Montesinos (id., 145-146), que « presenta exactamente el mismo movimiento de estrofas » de otras dos obras indubitadas de Lope.

9. El núm. 81 : « Al pié de un olmo escarchado » (*O. S.*, XVII, 451) es otra de las poesías ya de antiguo atribuidas a Lope (id., 141).

10. El núm. 83 : « Peñas del Tajo deshechas », puede atribuirse « casi con seguridad » a Lope (id., 154).

11. El núm. 94 : « A las temerosas voces », es uno de los romances en que se desenvuelve el tema de Troya « que tanto explotó por entonces » Lope (id., 153 y 164).

12. El núm. 96 : « Campo inútil de pizarras », es la única poesía eliminada por el Sr. Montesinos (id., 141), a quién ya dimos la razón en esto (vid. nuestro número 202), reconociendo que es de Quevedo.

13. El núm. 103 : « Otras veces me habeis visto », contiene pasajes « bien característicos, coincidentes con poesías genuinamente lopescas, junto a otros imposibles de coordinar con la vida de Lope » (id., 149).

Resulta, pues, que de todas las poesías a que aludimos en nuestro número 202, el Sr. Montesinos admite expresamente doce como obras más o menos probables del gran poeta,

rechaza otra (la núm. 96), y guarda silencio con respecto a una sola (la núm. 99 : « ¿ Quién es aquel que camina ? »). Y sin embargo en este romance se menciona a cierta Filis, lo que es motivo muy bastante para *sospechar* (en tanto que no se manifieste alguna razón en contrario) que pueda ser obra de Lope.

¿ Dónde están, entonces, los números, en plural, que según el Sr. Montesinos no deben tomarse en consideración ? Lo ignoramos, y si nos hemos detenido en esta demostración, más ha sido para cumplir con nuestro objeto, desentrañando las razones que pudiera haber para borrar algunas de esas composiciones de la lista de las atribuidas a nuestro poeta, que para regatear los méritos que ya hemos reconocido en el trabajo del Sr. Montesinos.

Por nuestra parte, en nuestra modesta esfera de acción, encaramos las tareas de investigación literaria con un espíritu de solidaridad humana, que excluye toda sombra de rivalidad. Creemos que en el extenso campo de la obra de Lope hay lugar para todos. Bien venido aquel que quiera traer su esfuerzo a la obra común. Lejos de pretender tratarle como un intruso, le miraremos siempre como un colaborador y un amigo.

Además de las composiciones ya señaladas con anterioridad por nosotros, el Sr. Montesinos enumera algunas otras, entre las del *Romancero de Barcelona*, que en su opinión pueden ser obra de Lope, a saber :

Núm. 107 — « A los hierros de una reja » (id., 155).
— 108 — « De nuevo llora Abenámar » (id., 155).
— 124 — « Al humilde Manzanares » (vid. nuestros nos 66 y 211) (id., 155).
— 53 — « En esta larga ausencia » (composición ya atribuida a Lope por Mele en 1901 : vid. nuestro no 184) (id., 156).
— 55 — « Por peñas disconformes » (id., 55).

Alude también el Sr. Montesinos, en esta parte de su trabajo, a otras composiciones, que acaso son de Lope y que no figuran en el *Romancero* de que venimos tratando :

1 — « Por la playa de Sanlucar » (*Romancero General de* 1600, parte I, folio 4; *Flor de varios &, primera; B. A. E.*, X, nº 37) (id., 154).

2 — « Su remedio (o « Sin remedio ») en el ausencia » (*Rom. Gral.*, 1600, parte IV, folio 97; *B. A. E.*, X, nº 14) (id., 155).

3 — « De su fortuna agraviado » (variante del anterior, en *Rom. Gral.*, 1600, parte VI, folio 176 v.; *B. A. E.*, X, nº 15) (id., 155).

d) *Sobre algunas composiciones procedentes de las obras dramáticas.* El Sr. Montesinos pone en claro la procedencia de las siguientes composiciones :

1 — « Plantas sin fruto, fértiles de rosas », de las *Flores de poetas ilustres* (vid. nuestro nº 30). Resulta ser sustancialmente el mismo soneto que en *El ganso de oro* comienza : « Marchitas plantas, ramo, fruto y rosas » (p. 157 del trabajo indicado).

2 — « Dulce, atrevido, pensamiento loco », soneto publicado por el Sr. Mele (vid. nuestro nº 184). Procede de la comedia : *Burlas de amor* (p. 159).

3 y 4 — « Enferma Clori de sus ojos bellos », y « Para cortar a Clori sus cabellos » (sonetos publicados por el Sr. Wickersham Crawford : vid. nuestro nº 190). Corresponden a la comedia *El Perseo* (p. 161).

5 — « Al valle de nuestra aldea », romance a que ya aludimos (vid. nuestro nº 81). Procede de la comedia *¿ De cuándo acá nos vino ?* (p. 161).

1927

221. Restori (Antonio). *I sonetti di Lope de Vega.* Extracto del *Archivum Romanicum* dirigido por G. Bertoni. Volumen XI, nº 3, 1927.

Aunque no entre completamente dentro de los límites que

nos hemos señalado, no queremos dejar de dar cuenta de este interesante trabajo. El Sr. Restori trata de determinar el número total de los sonetos de Lope. A su juicio llegarían a 757 los contenidos en las obras no dramáticas y a 2.232 los de las obras dramáticas; en total 2.989, casi 3.000; cifra verdaderamente pasmosa. Rectifica además, con sólidas razones, el número total de comedias atribuido tradicionalmente al Fénix.

222. SUBIRÁ (JOSÉ). *La música en la casa de Alba. Estudios históricos y biográficos.* Madrid, *Sucesores de Rivadeneyra*, 1927.

Obra que solamente conozco por haberla visto mencionada en *R. F. E.*, 1927, págs. 193-194, y que supongo contendrá datos interesantes acerca de los romances y demás composiciones de Lope que fueron puestos en música.

1928

223. *A selection of books manuscripts engravings and autograph letters remarkable for their interest & rarity being the five hundredth catalogue issued by Maggs Bros, booksellers. London. Maggs Bros, 34 and 35 Conduit Street, London, W,* 1928.

Conozco este magnífico catálogo merced a la cortesía del R. P. Dr. Guillermo Furlong S. J., bibliotecario en el Colegio del Salvador, de Buenos Aires. En el catálogo (nº 193, págs. 320-323) se da razón de un códice autógrafo de Lope, el cual se ofrece en venta por la suma de 5.000 libras esterlinas. Es el códice Durán al cual ya nos referimos (vid. nuestros números 174 *b* y 207).

Se incluye un facsímil fotográfico de dos hojas del códice, así como un índice de las composiciones contenidas en el mismo, que es sustancialmente el mismo índice que copiamos en nuestro número 174 *b*. Prescindiendo de las diferencias sin

significación (se dan por inéditas muchas composiciones que no lo son) señalaremos las únicas que tienen algún interés :

a) El índice del catálogo señala, bajo el nº 54, una composición inédita : « Huyendo va de mí Fílida ingrata » (estrofas para una égloga) que falta en el índice reseñado en nuestro número 174 *b* y no figura tampoco en el *Indice* de *O. S.*

b) Lo mismo ocurre con « Cantad, cantad, sonoros arroyuelos » (nº 55), estrofas inéditas para una égloga. Acaso forman parte de la égloga a que se refiere nuestro número 174 *b* (nº 50).

c) El nº 78 de nuestro número 174 *b* (« Niño, queriendo estais »), se transforma, en el presente índice, en

Niño que viendo estais

(acaso será « Niño que riendo estais »).

224. Millé y Giménez (Juan). Los presentes *Apuntes*. En este trabajo se conjetura que puedan corresponder a Lope, con razones de mayor o menor probabilidad, según puede verse en los lugares correspondientes, los siguientes romances :

1 — « Ensillenme el potro rucio » (nºs 4 *bis* y 27).
2 — « A sombras de un acebuche » (nº 4 *bis*).
3 — « Con dos mil ginetes moros » (nº 27).
4 — « Azarque indignado y fiero » (nº 27).
5 — « Avisaron a los reyes » (nºs 27 y 162).
6 — « Afuera, afuera, aparta, aparta » (nº 27).
7 — « Desesperado camina » (nº 27).
8 — « En el más soberbio monte » (nº 27).
9 — « Al camino de Toledo » (nº 27).
10 — « Regalando el tierno vello » (nºs 27 y 210).
11 — « Aquel moro enamorado » (nº 27).
12 — « La noche estaba esperando » (nº 27).
13 — « Bravonel de Zaragoza — al rey Marsilio demanda » (nºs 27 y 162).
14 — « Después que en el martes triste » (nº 27).

15 — « Alojó su compañía » (nos 27 y 162).
16 — « Azarque vive en Ocaña » (no 27).
17 — « Arrancando los cabellos » (no 27).
18 — « Bien te acuerdas, fácil mora » (no 27).
19 — « Desterró al moro Muza » (no 27).
20 — « Mira, Muza, que te aviso » (no 27).
21 — « Las riberas de Genil » (no 27).
22 — « A la orilla de Genil » (no 27).
23 — « Desde un alto mirador » (no 27).
24 — « Rendido está Reduán » (no 27).
25 — « Ponte a las rejas azules » (no 127 bis).
26 — « Todos están mal conmigo » (no 151 bis).
27 — « Abindarráez y Muza » (no 162).
28 — « Después que con alboroto » (no 162).
29 — « Límpiame la jacerina » (no 170).
30 — « Desde las torres del alma » (no 195).

Respecto a la procedencia de dichos romances, haremos notar que :

9 (nos 1, 3, 4, 5, 13, 14 a 16 y 19) figuran en el *Romancero General de* 1600, parte I, vid. nuestros números 19 bis y 27.

6 (nos 2, 6, 11, 12, 27 y 28), id., id., id., parte II.

3 (nos 8, 9, 20), id., id., id., parte III.

1 (no 25), id., id., id., parte IV.

5 (nos 7, 17, 22, 23, 29), id., id., id., parte VI.

2 (nos 10, 26), id., id., id., parte VII.

1 (no 21), id., id., id., parte IX.

2 (nos 18, 24), en la *Flor de varios y nuevos romances, tercera parte* (vid. nuestro número 4 *bis*).

1 (no 30), en el *Cancionero*, de Sablonara (vid. nuestro número 195).

ÍNDICES

Para que el presente trabajo pueda rendir sus frutos, he redactado los cuatro índices que van a continuación : el PRIMERO alfabético de títulos y primeros versos de composiciones atribuidas a Lope e *incluidas* en las *O. S.*; el SEGUNDO de composiciones atribuidas a Lope que *no están incluidas* en las *O. S.*; el TERCERO alfabético de *primeros versos* de composiciones atribuidas a Lope y *no incluidas* en las *O. S.*; y el CUARTO alfabético de *nombres citados.*

En todos esos índices, los números que no llevan indicación en contrario, se refieren a los artículos de los presentes *Apuntes.*

En el índice SEGUNDO la columna que lleva el número 1 denota aquellas composiciones *de que hay*, y la columna que lleva el número 2 aquellas *de que no hay*, reproducción moderna, entendiéndose por tal toda edición posterior a la publicación de las *O. S.* (1776- 1779). La segunda columna de la derecha trata de suministrar algunos datos acerca del carácter de cada composición. No he intentado, ni mucho menos, una clasificación científica, que en muchos casos, siéndonos desconocida buena parte de las obras de que se trata, no sería tampoco posible. Aplazo para más adelante esa clasificación, y entretanto será posible planearla provisionalmente por medio de esas someras indicaciones.

Indico seguidamente los signos convencionales de que me he valido en los índices :

A	= Aprobaciones	P	= Poemas
C	= Canciones	Pr.	= Prólogos
Ca.	= Cartas	Ps.	= Poesías varias
Co.	= Coplas	Q	= Quintillas
D	= Décimas	R	= Romances
Ded.	= Dedicatorias, en prosa	S	= Sonetos
Doc.	= Documentos	Si.	= Silvas
E	= Estancias	Sx.	= Sextinas
G	= Glosas	T	= Tercetos
L	= Poesías latinas	Vs.	= Obras varias
O	= Octavas		

★ = poesías de Lope que figuran también en obras dramáticas.
× = poesías que es dudoso sean de Lope.
+ = poesías que no son de Lope.

I

ÍNDICE ALFABÉTICO

de títulos y primeros versos de composiciones de Lope, incluidas en las *Obras sueltas*, que están mencionadas en los presentes *Apuntes*.

Abre tus puertas, coronada villa; *O. S.*, IV; 174.

Acompañada de quejas; *O. S.*, XVII; 162.

★ Adios, solteras de embelecos llenas; *O. S.*, XVII; 30, 162, 202, 207 tripl.

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A don Francisco de la Cueva ; O. S., IX; 110, 147.

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Ahora vuelvo a templaros; *O. S.*, III; otra versión comienza: « Otra vez vuelvo a templaros »; 27, 160, 181 tripl., 210.

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A la fuente de Garcilasso ; O. S., XIX; vid. : « Con respeto se retrata »; 118, 174.

A la muerte de don Luís de Góngora ; O. S., IV; 118.

A la muerte de Girólamo Preti ; vid. : « Preti, la muerte que con pié invisible »; *O. S.*, I; 127, 174.

A la muerte de un caballero portugués ; O. S., IX; 146, 147.

A la nueva pasión del impasible; *O. S.*, X; 135.

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A las bodas venturosas; *O. S.*, XVII; 15, 162.

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A la venida del Inglés a Cádiz ; vid. : « Atrevióse el Inglés, de engaño armado »; *O. S.*, IV; 118.
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Anticipó la púrpura olorosa; *O. S.*, I; 174.
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† Arboles, compañeros de estos ríos; *O. S.*, III; 160, 195 bis.
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	182		R	En la prisión está Adulce	<	«
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	182		T	Atlante de los mundos de Filipo . . .	<	«
	182		R	Háganme vuestras mercedes.	<	«
	182		R	Ay, amargas soledades	<	«
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	183		Ca.	*Carta.*	<	«
*	184		Vs.	*Las once composiciones allí reseñadas.* .	<	«
	186		Ca.	*Carta.*	<	«
	186	b.	R	Con aquellas blancas manos	<	«
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*	190		Ps.	*Diez y siete poesías allí reseñadas.* . . .	<	«
	192		S	El verde monte a donde el Tajo leve .	<	«
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×	207 c.	R	Cantüesos y tomillos	<	«
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*	220	R	*Siete romances allí reseñados*	<	«
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Juan Millé y Giménez.

ADICIONES

Al número **28.**

El soneto dedicado por Lope al libro de Antonio de Viana, comienza : « Por más que el viento entre las ondas graves ». Menéndez y Pelayo (*Obras completas*, XIV, 302) lo copia, aunque no integramente. No está incluido en las *O. S.* El libro de Viana ha sido reimpreso, en 1883 (tomo CLXV de la *Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*).

Al número **135 bis.**

La fecha (1631) del fallecimiento de la hija del Conde-Duque de Olivares, esposa del Duque de Medina de las Torres, que tomé de un folleto del Sr. Cotarelo (*Sobre quién fuese el raptor de la hija de Lope de Vega*, Madrid, 1925, pág. 8), debe ser rectificada. En realidad dicha señora falleció el 30 de agosto de 1626 (Luis Fernández Guerra, *Don Juan Ruíz de Alarcón y Mendoza*, Madrid, 1871, pág. 433; Matías de Novoa, *Memorias, Historia de Felipe IV*, I, Madrid, 1878, pág. 52).

Al número **174.**

a) El soneto « Paulo, jurisconsulto soberano », dedicado a llorar la muerte de don Francisco de la Cueva y Silva, e incluido en el códice Durán (*b*, 23) figura también (vid. nuestro número 179) en una carta de Lope, fechada el 14 de febrero de 1628.

b) El soneto « Desde la aurora hasta la sacra pira », figura, no sólo en el códice Pidal (*c*, 42), sino también (vid. nuestro número 179) en una carta de Lope, dirigida a don Antonio de Mendoza. Está dedicado, según resulta de la misma, a cierto libro de éste, *Vida de Nuestra Señora*, que no llegó a salir sino después de la muerte de su autor. La primera edición parece que es una de Madrid, hacia 1650 (Palau, *Manual*, IV, 74). Ignoro si se publicaría también en ella el soneto de Lope. La carta de éste, en la que figura el soneto, no lleva fecha, pero data de 1628, en que salió la *Primera parte* de las comedias de Ruiz de Alarcón, a que alude.

c) Los versos que comienzan « Llevaron a don Pedro de Mendoza » forman parte de una carta que data del año 1618, en que tuvo lugar el destierro de dicho don Pedro. Poco antes, en 1614, se había prohibido que se jugase en la casa del mismo (*Archivo histórico nacional. Sala de Alcaldes de Casa y Corte. Catálogo*, Madrid, 1925, páginas 217 y 436).

Al número **177 quadruplicado.**

En Madrid, 1884-1889, sale a luz la *Historia de las Universidades*, por D. Vicente de la Fuente, en cuyo tomo III, págs. 30-31, se alude a ciertas actuaciones para la causa de beatificación del cardenal Jiménez de Cisneros, efectuadas, a lo que parece, en 1627, y en las que declararon, juntamente con Lope, Quevedo, Vélez de Guevara y otros. Por cierto que la edad asignada a Lope, como a otros varios de los testigos, es errónea, si ya no es que las declaraciones se prestaron en diferentes tiempos. Parece ser que La Fuente había tenido a la vista el proceso, cuyo paradero no indica. Recuérdese que Lope fué también testigo en la causa de beatificación del padre Simón de Rojas (vid. nuestro número 204).

LA VOLUNTAD AND *ABULIA* IN CONTEMPORARY SPANISH IDEOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

The Philosophic Background.

The subject of this study, the part played by *la voluntad* in contemporary Spanish literature, beginning with the well recognized date 1898, presents itself at first sight as one of contrasts. Spain is not known as the country of the will. Her atmosphere of indolent fatalism has long been a commonplace. " Mi venga la morte di Spagna ", says the proverb (for then I know it will be long in coming). For many centuries the foreign visitor has been shocked by Spanish inability to attend to the simplest details of living, by the Oriental stoicism with which the Spaniard submits to any inconvenience rather than exert himself, and the exceptional Spaniard, from Gracián to Larra, has deplored the absence in Spain of all middle ground between long inertia and momentary exaltation; she is « un día en silencio mortal, y otro agitada por los más violentos huracanes ", said Ganivet[1]. This, then, is the country which

1. *Granada la bella*, Madrid, 1920, p. 10.

felt, first, the influence of the philosophy of the great northern preachers of the will, Schopenhauer, Stirner, Nietzsche, Ibsen, and second, the gross impact of another civilization whose dynamism it was forced to respect. It will be clear that the conception of the will inspired by the first element was entirely different from that suggested by the second.

The fortunes of the will in Spanish literature since 1898 exhibit on the whole a fairly definite trend, but one is often forced to deal here, as in so much of Spanish literature, with the individual rather than with the group Very typical is the disintegration, described by Pío Baroja, of the circle of writers formed after the national disaster, which had nothing in common but negation[1], and although no list of the Generation of 1898 has ever appeared without Baroja's name, he says of it, " Yo no creo que haya habido ni que haya una generación de 1898. Si la hay, yo no pertenezco a ella[2]. "

This centrifugal tendency means that *la voluntad* is considered from the most diverse points of view. There is no one conception of its nature or of its direction. I shall try to make clear that it is in Ganivet effort directed towards self realisation, in the individualists, the vital instinct, in the internationalists, purposive energy, and in the pantheists, a manifestation of universal harmony, making use of divisions which in spite of occasional overlapping seem to me to mark important stages in the development of the idea, but it is necessary to remember that each writer gives his own interpretation, and although I have usually translated *la voluntad* as the *will*, it has, of course, many *nuances* which no one word is adequate to suggest. It may be used in the sense of a process of the individual mind, or in the Schopenhauerian sense of the single force which dominates

1. *Juventud, egolatría*, Madrid, 1917, p. 237.
2. *Divagaciones de autocrítica, Revista de Occidente*, vol. IV, p. 51.

the universe. It may express itself in the determination to follow one's destiny, destroy one's neighbor, make one's fortune, or believe in the immortality of one's soul. It is sometimes directed inward to perfect the philosopher, sometimes outward to produce the *hombre de acción*, but in one form or another it is the basis of most of the ideology for which the Spanish literature of this century is distinguished. I have limited this study to the essay and the novel, in which the bulk of that ideology is found [1], and I have excluded such well known figures as Palacio Valdés and Blasco Ináñez, who belong to the group of regional novelists rather than to the group usually designated as the Generation of 1898.

The importance thus given to the will in modern Spanish literature means that with this century Spain has tried to identify herself with the main current of Occidental thought, the faustian thought, according to Spengler, which rests entirely upon will, upon the conception of directed energy, as opposed to the static philosophies of antiquity and the East. " Es ist der Unterschied von Charakter und Haltung, von bewusstem Werden und einfach hingenommen statuenhaften Gewordensein, vom tragischen Wollen und tragischem Dulden [2]. " " Jede antike Ethike ist eine Ethik der Haltung; jede abendländische Ethik ist eine Ethik der Tat [3]. " Schopenhauer was first to give complete expression to the Occidental point of view when he sensed the whole universe as desire, direction, or, as he said, *voluntad* [4].

In Spain the consideration of the will was given from the first a national application, due to the fact that before

1. Gómez de Baquero (Andrenio), *El renacimiento de la novela en el siglo* XIX, Madrid, 1924, pp. 96, 102.
2. *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, Munchen, 1924, vol. I, p. 434.
3. *Ibid.* p. 439.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 433.

1898 the nature of Spanish society suggested such an application almost inevitably to thinkers like Ganivet, and after the national disaster the great body of Spanish thought was directed towards patriotic solutions. There is still much writing about the regeneration of Spain, but the point of view has changed. Ganivet and his successors directed the will of individual and nation alike towards the satisfaction of peculiar individual and national needs, but we shall find in the present generation a growing tendency to seek the individual's strength in contact or interpenetration with other men, and to think of Spain less as an entity than as an increasingly intimate part of a civilization.

This means that it is impossible to discuss *la voluntad*, as it is impossible to discuss any contemporary Spanish subject, without reference to the *españolización-europeización* controversy, involving the struggle of clerical monarchism against secular republicanism, which has dominated Spanish philosophy for so long, with Menéndez y Pelayo as the greatest figure on one side, and Giner de los Ríos on the other[1]. Long before the crisis of 1898 the two forces were at work in Spain, one informing it with national consciousness, the other fecundating it with European thought.

The two giants of the end of the century, Galdós and Menéndez y Pelayo, one a creative artist, the other a great

1. José Ingegnieros, *La cultura filosófica en España*, Buenos Aires 1916, p. 170. For a discussion of krausism as a regenerative factor in the hands of the europeanizationists, see pp. 179-181. The influence of Giner de los Ríos was so much more personal than literary or philosophical that I have given no space to an analysis of his writings. Discussions of his importance are found in Madariaga, *Semblanzas literarias contemporáneas*, Madrid, 1924, pp. 93-101. George T. Northup, *An Introduction to Spanish Literature*, Chicago, 1925, pp. 413-414; Ingegnieros, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-184; *Azorín, Lecturas españolas*, Madrid, 1920, pp. 269-270. His views on the training of the will are given in his *Educación y enseñanza*, Madrid, N. D., pp. 6, 17-18, 46, 54-57, 76.

critic, gave to the Spanish people a new regard for its individuality. Madariaga points out that Galdós, more than any writer of his epoch, rose to a conception of the national life. Pereda belongs to a region, *la montaña :* Valera to a class, the aristocracy; Blasco Ibáñez is cosmopolitan; but Galdós is Spanish, and understands all of Spain, all of its provinces, all of the strata of its population, all the *matices* of its thought, all the years of its nineteenth century [1]. " Ha reunido en un solo haz, en una sola corriente, la muchedumbre de *sensaciones* que andaban dispersas ", says *Azorín* [2]. "... Este hombre ha hecho que la palabra España no sea una abstracción, algo seca y sin vida, sino una realidad [3]. " He, like Menéndez y Pelayo, began revealing Spain to herself through the polemic, by fighting for his thesis; he ended in an Olympian calmness which saw everything and judged nothing [4].

La ciencia española, with which Menéndez y Pelayo began preaching Spain to itself, is violent, " hundred per cent " Hispanism, exposition, justification, eulogy of Spain and of her institutions, with special intent to show that her religious history has not stifled her philosophical development. He especially tries to clear the name of the Inquisition, " coco de niños y espantajo de bobos... para muchos la solución de todos los problemas... ¿ Por qué hay toros en España ? Por la Inquisición. ¿ Por qué duermen los españoles la siesta ? ... Por qué había malas posadas y malos caminos y malas comidas en España en tiempo de Madama d'Aulnoy ? Por la Inquisición [5] ". He even thinks

1. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 208.
4. Ramón Pérez de Ayala, *Las Máscaras*, Madrid, 1917, vol. I, p. 21.
5. *La ciencia española*, Madrid, 1879, p. 64.

of the Inquisition as a benevolent institution which helped to create the national character which he is so eager to establish; " ... hasta bendigo la Inquisición como fórmula del pensamiento de unidad que rige y gobierna la vida nacional a través de los siglos [1] ". He regrets the exhaustion which came as a result of Spain's ambitions, but in so far as those ambitions were a sacrifice to her consistent career as a Catholic nation, he has nothing but praise for them [2]. He, like Ganivet, finds in Seneca the spiritual ancestor of the race, and in its philosophy a homogeneous creation which is distinguished, when orthodox, by the spirit of criticism and harmony, while heterodoxy tends to run into pantheism [3]. It annoys him to see that, with its own magnificent philosophy at hand, Spain seeks foreign philosophies : " ... conque... significan más en la historia de la filosofía el pedante Ramus... y el asqueroso Rabelais, que no fué filósofo ni hizo cosa de provecho jamás, y el sensualista Locke, y Hobbes, apologista de la fuerza bruta y de toda tiranía: conque estos escritores, digo, representan mas que Lulio, Fox, Vives, Suárez, y toda nuestra filosofía junta [4] ? " He proposes a definite program for acquainting Spain with its own works : the preparation of bibliographies and critical monographs on the many subjects hitherto neglected, and the establishment of new professorships of Spanish philosophy [5], besides an idyllic plan for a monastery to be the centre of Spanish learning [6].

I have dwelt upon *La ciencia española* because in it is expressed more directly and succinctly than in most works

1. *La ciencia española*, p. 141.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 268.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 217.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-128.

of the time the fervor for the recreation of a definite Spain in the Spanish mind, a Spain of exclusivism, a Spain whose first duty is knowledge of herself. The enormous critical production of Menéndez y Pelayo was of course an effective means towards that end, " El sentido de su obra tiene dos formas : una, *de reconstitución* de nuestro pasado; otra, de *regeneración* para el porvenir ", says Bonilla y San Martín [1], and he quotes from the great critic : " hoy presenciamos el lento suicidio de un pueblo que, engañado mil veces por gárrulos sofistas, empobrecido, mermado, y desolado, emplea en destrozarse las pocas fuerzas que le restan, y corriendo tras vanos trampantojos de una falsa y postiza cultura, en vez de cultivar su propio espíritu, que es el único que ennoblece y redime a las razas y a las gentes [2] ". It will presently be clear that the nationalism fomented by Menéndez y Pelayo, Galdós, and others, was an important preparation for the ideas of Ganivet and his successors.

This tendency towards the exaltation of the nation was paralleled by a new conception of individualism derived from a gradual acquaintance with the individualistic thinkers of the North. With the publication of *L'unique et sa propriété* in 1838, Max Stirner, the philosopher of extreme individualism as Nietzsche was its poet and musician [3], had dethroned the mind from its artificial supremacy over emotion and will. Mankind, he said is still in the adolescent stage where it lets itself be dominated by the tyranny of the mind, for God, Emperor, Pope, Country are only ideas without real existence, man's own creation, of which he should be master, not slave [4].

Far more influential than Stirner was his disciple, Nietzsche.

1. *Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo*, Madrid, 1914, p. 170.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
3. Victor Basch, *L'individualisme anarchiste*, Paris, 1904, p. iii.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

" Hoy no se puede escribir una página ignorando a Nietzsche " says Gómez de la Serna [1], and it is indeed not hard to account for the thremendous enthusiasm which he inspired. The Spanish mind, long accustomed to exalt the individual, hailed the idea of the superman. Ortega y Gasset, in an article directed to Ramiro de Maeztu, tells something of the appeal made to youth by his philosophy of flame.

> En otro tiempo, ¿ recuerda usted ? gustábamos de dejarnos abrasada la fantasía sobre una página de Nietzsche, y como este genial dicharachero tiene la unción que todos los sofistas para halagar y engreir al lector, pudo ocurrírsenos acaso tras de alguna lectura la sospecha de si había en nosotros dos de esos grandes hombres que fabrican historia, soneros y adamantinos, mas allá del bien y del mal [2].

There is something invigorating in the sweep of Nietzsche's philosophy, something magnificent in the affirmation of life with which he answered Schopenhauer's negation, the affirmation which he maintained against unthinkable odds when he supposed an infinite number of returns of the miseries of life [3]. He knew how to ennoble his conception of the superman, who should excel in powerful impulse, keen mind, self reliance, rigid exaction of the most from himself, whose greatness should lie in fullness of life [4], who should be subject only to the morale reserved for noble souls [5]. He brushed aside the existing ethical system as a morale of slaves, a defense built by the envious mean to protect themselves against the great [6], and his conception of the eternally

1. Ramón Gómez de la Serna, *El concepto de la nueva literatura.* Madrid, S. A., p. 3.
2. *Personas, obras, cosas,* Madrid, 1916, p. 49.
3. Falkenheim, Lehmann, Pfander, *Hegel, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche,* Madrid, 1925, pp. 124-125.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 112-117.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.

ascending production of great souls offered a brilliant future to the race [1]. The will to live was with him no blind inflowing of universal force; it was unique and fundamental in each individual [2].

If Stirner was the prophet of extreme individualism and Nietzsche its poet and musician, Ibsen was its dramatist. For him, too, the duty of man was an emphatic assertion of his will against the false standards of society, and he gave to individualism powerful personification through a whole theatre of heroes in titanic revolt [3].

The same note was reinforced by more subtle harmonies evoked in France. Stendhal was revived in 1880 [4]. In 1892 appeared the three volumes composing *Le culte du moi* of Maurice Barrès, and in 1894 *Du sang, de la volupté et de la mort,* which made a special appeal to Spain. Stendhal is well characterized by the observation of Barrès : " Jamais il ne se demande si un sentiment, un acte, sont utiles et féconds, mais seulement s'ils témoignent d'une énergie saisissante [5]. " Barrès sought to make of the *moi* a highly wrought instrument of desire and action [6], and after obtaining for it the *nuances* of sensation from every land and time, he was thrown back to seek its real depth in its native soil, to add nationalism to a very complex individualism which could not be sure of the sincerity of life except by going down to its roots [7].

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 119-105.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.
3. Nicolas Ségur, *Le génie européen*, Paris, 1926, pp. 207-227. For an account of the similar ideas of Arthur, Count Gobineau, see *The Renaissance*, ed. Oscar Levy, New York, 1913, pp. XVI, XVII, XIX, LXII.
4. Gustave Lanson, *Histoire de la littérature française*, Paris, 1921, p. 1006.
5. *Correspondance de Stendhal*, Paris, 1908, vol. I, p. IX.
6. René Gillouin, *Maurice Barrès*, Paris, 1907, p. 13.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

I have not yet discussed Schopenhauer, because, on the whole, his influence seems to me essentially different from that of the others. Though the will was all important in his philosophic system, as in theirs, he thought of it differently, as a baleful force back of the whole universe and pervading it with suffering [1]; he saw no relief from the eternal torture of desire except ascetic denial [2], and his philosophy thus led not to effort, but to pessimism, the spirit which is all important for the negative side of this study, the negative being as important as the positive, and the study of *abulia* as general as that of strong will.

Schopenhauer found a striking figure to express the weary alternation of momentary satisfaction and renewed desire.

> If we compare life to a course or path through which we must unceasingly run—a path of red-hot coals, with a few cool places here and there, then he who is entangled in delusion is consoled by the cool places, on which he now stands, or which he sees near him, and sets out to run through the course. But he who sees through the *principium individuationis* and recognizes the real nature of the thing-in-itself, and thus the whole, is no longer susceptible of such consolation; he sees himself in all places at once, and withdraws [3].

It is most important to note Schopenhauer's identification of himself with the universe, his consciousness of the suffering of all created things as his own :

> We may therefore say that if, per impossible, a single real existence, even the most insignificant, were to be entirely annihilated, the whole world would necessarily perish with it. The great mystic Angelus Silesius feels this when he says—
>
> I know God cannot live an instant without me,
> He must give up the ghost if I should cease to be [4].

1. *The World as Will and Idea*, tr. by Haldane and Kemp, London, 1907, vol. I, p. 490.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 504.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 490.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

The consciousness of suffering in oneself and one's world is the salient feature of the *fin de siècle* psychology which has been described variously in such works as Nordau's *Dégénérescence*, Tardieu's *L'Ennui*, and in Spain by Deleite y Piñuela in *La tristeza de la literatura contemporánea*. The loss of religious faith, the failure of the great hopes aroused by the French Revolution, leave the human spirit nothing but its egoism, an egoism which finds for itself a thousand means of torture hitherto unknown. It is sensitive as never before to the *nuance*, it perceives infinite refinements, infinite cruelties. It is no longer hardened by the sight of the auto-de-fe, reconciled by the conception of an adjustment in another life, blinded by delight in its own activity. Excessive intellectualism has broken the equilibrium between thought and action[1], and the mind, no longer doing battle against the world, turns on itself, analyzing as spectator what it performs as actor, destroying its illusions, paralyzing its will[2], leaving itself nothing but denial, the consciousness of what Leopardi, Schopenhauer's great predecessor in pessimism, called "L'infinita vanità del tutto[3]". Many a thinker never passed this stage of philosophic despair, but for a few spirits the denial of the individual will gave way to identification with the universal.

I have said that man's own increased capacity to feel makes him, in spite of his egoism, infinitely more sensitive to the feelings of others, makes him sense a whole emotional life even where it is not usually thought to exist in plants, in animals.

La sensibilidad, difusa y hasta enferma, llega a convertir las emociones en transparentes y luminosas... el arte llega con su poder intuitivo y vidente al corazón de las cosas, y acentuando discordan-

1. Deleite y Piñuela, *Op. cit.*, Madrid, 1911, pp. 5-29.
2. Émile Tardieu, *op. cit.*, Paris, 1903, pp. 255-258, 171-172.
3. *Canti*, Paris, 1847, p. 563 (in *Poeti italiani contemporanei*).

cias entre ellas, anhela una concordia mas amplia, que nos emancipa del egoísmo y nos infunde el sentimiento de nuestro entronque y parentesco con el universo [1].

Thus the long fever of individualism works its own cure.

No attempt has been made in this study to analyze direct literary influences, only to trace the main currents flowing through the years with which we have to deal : a nationalism holding its own, as we shall see, against cosmopolitanism; one individualism of Stoics, of strong volition, of bravado in the face of the dark; another individualism of sensibility and suffering and denial, putting out its hand at last for comfort to the universe.

CHAPTER I

LA VOLUNTAD APPLIED TO REGENERATION THROUGH SELF-KNOWLEDGE.

GANIVET

Ganivet must be regarded as the great precursor in modern Spanish thought, precursor by right of protest and prophecy. He was the first to abandon and oppose the project method of dealing with the problem of Spain's degeneracy, a method descended from the *arbitristas*, which centered the entire difficulty in *caciquismo* or *flamenquismo* or something else reducible to a formula instead of viewing the situation *sub specie aeternitatis* [2]. He detested the

1. González Serrano, *La literatura del día*, Barcelona, 1903, p. 30.
2. Gómez de Baquero, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

sound and fury in which Echegaray had embalmed romanticism for his generation [1], considering it, as we shall see, the most aggravated symptom of the national disease. He first grafted the individualism of the north upon Spanish stoicism, giving to it the noblest and most harmonious manifestation which it found in Spain. He, first of anyone, both as philosopher and artist, devoted to the needs of the time a well rounded production which was over in 1898, and forever assured of a certain halo of prophecy [2]. A few detached studies similar to his had already appeared [3], but Ganivet's development, apart from its tragic termination, had reached a certain completion. He had applied his philosophy, essentially unvarying, to the state, to the city, to the individual. It is hard to say what the next stage would have been.

In the earliest of Ganivet's writing now published [4], a letter to Navarro Ledesma dated February 18, 1893, he accuses himself of what he calls *misticismo negativo*, a state of mind in which he finds it impossible to assimilate the elements of the outside world [5] This is quite different from *misticismo positivo*, where the same repulsion which the spirit feels for the material world results in the contemplation of the infinite. In *misticismo negativo* the will is paralyzed,

1. *Azorín, Clásicos y modernos*, mentions Echegaray with Galdós and Campoamor as one of the three great influences at the end of the century because of his gift of passion.

2. The period of Ganivet's literary production extended from October, 1895, when the first of his articles was published in El Defensor de Granada, to his death in November, 1898.

3. Notably the series of five essays by Unamuno, published in *La España Moderna* in 1895, and collected under the title *En torno al casticismo* in 1902.

4. Except his doctor's thesis and another paper of minor interest published by Modesto Pérez in *Angel Ganivet, universitario y consul*, Madrid, 1920.

5. *Epistolario de Angel Ganivet*, Madrid, 1919, p. 34.

and the individual is converted into a thing[1]. This, says Ganivet, is a symptom of *abulia*, and *abulia* is that state in which one finds it impossible to renew life through the external universe because one has no power of sustained attention. This is a condition impossible to the Finns, among whom Ganivet is writing, for their attention is slow and sure; " se parecen al que pescaba las truchas con mazo[2] ". On the other hand, says Ganivet, " en los pueblos meridionales la rapidez de percepción exige que ésta sea muy poco profunda; si además la educación aumenta esta flaqueza y la manía de vivir de prisa hace que la atención recaiga en muchas cosas a la vez, y a esto se agrega la debilidad orgánica producida por los excesos, cátate un abúlico[3] ". Ganivet prescribes for this condition reflection on a subject of profound interest[4], the reading of a great book[5], conscious concentration and deepening—here already is the germ of his philosophy which would fight inaction not with action but with thought — which retires and waits. A letter of the next year develops the idea : " la poca o mucha voluntad que se tenga se puede desenvolver hacia dentro, mientras por fuera va uno rodando con sujeción a las leyes físicas de los cuerpos racionales[6] ". Why should one always try to conquer just because one can[7] ? Most exact was the East Indian visitor to London who said, "Con la energía que aquí gasta un hombre para vivir, vivimos allá una docena de familias bastante mejor[8]. " The ideal state is *socialismo-anárquico-nirvánico*, where no one has to work;

1. *Epistolario de Angel Ganivet*, p. 34.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 260-261.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 262.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 252.

where although many will be idlers, some will think [1].

The later letters of the *Epistolario* express bitterly the vanity of effort :

> Y creyendo yo, como creo, que no tenemos ningún fin que cumplir, como me atribuyes tú eso de que lo que se hace sea obra de la voluntad y la reflexión y no de la naturaleza? Yo estoy convencido de que se debe hacer lo que buenamente salga, pero estoy más convencido de que salga lo que saliere no sirve para realizar ningún fin particular nuestro; de que vivimos atados a la noria, unas veces para dar vueltas en tonto, porque la noria está seca, y otras para sacar agua, sin saber si sale o no, porque tenemos los ojos vendados para evitar el mareo... No trato de reformar nada, ni de obtener nada, ni siquiera de protestar [2]. — Lo mejor es apartarse a un lado y no querer tocar pito en nada. ¡ Abstine! Y si le cae a uno una teja encima, ¡ Sustine [3] !.

There is, however, one need for volition in the midst of fatalism. In the underlined phrase of the following passage is the basis of all Ganivet's thought for man or for the institutions that he has created : " Soy, según te consta, fatalista, y creo que la suma sabiduría está en las cosas y en dejar que las cosas obren, incluyendo en las cosas a las personas, *siempre que funcionen normalmente y sin intención de enmendar la plana a las fuerzas naturales* [4]. " Here, then, are the two ideas underlying all of Ganivet's thought about the will : it involves attention, concentration, it is a force which the individual best directs inward; its outward manifestation is worthily directed only towards the realization of a nature not quite true to itself.

The worship of nature is hard for the philosopher who lives in an artificial society, instinct with an analysis which

1. *Ibid.*, p. 238.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 393-394.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 296.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 260.

has lost the power to see the whole, blinded by fictions like democracy and cosmopolitanism which conceal the true nature of men and things. " En vez de estudiar o de representar el ser humano íntegro, se toma un fragmento de él para dar variedad al espectáculo "; and after reading the analytical modern literature one turns to the *Quijote* or the *Iliad* " con la misma complacencia con que después de alimentarse uno varias meses de sardinas en lata, aceitunas y rajas de salchichón, veria aparecer una majestuosa fuente de cocido con muchisimos garbanzos [1] ". Synthesis is indispensable to comprehension.

> Hay un sentimiento más profundo que el religioso, que es evolutivo y relativamente nuevo : el sentimiento de la naturaleza, dentro de la que comprendo yo todos los elementos exteriores que han contribuido a formarnos : nuestros padres, nuestra casa, nuestro campo, nuestras cosas, o las que llamamos nuestras, no fundados en el derecho de propiedad, sino en virtud de que tienen algo de nosotros y nosotros algo de ellas [2].

No circumstance should be allowed to alter one's nature, thus conceived [3], and no society. " Podrá uno adulterarse, pero peor es que otros le adulteren [4]. " There is a passage in the work of Ganivet's acknowledged master, Seneca [5], which recalls Ganivet, but as a disciple nearer to nature than the master. " Enemigo del reposo del sabio ", says Seneca, " es la conversación de muchos. Cada cual imprime en nosotros alguno de sus vicios [6]. " For Ganivet the contagion of an alien virtue would be as much to be feared. Pio

1. *Epistolario*, p. 260.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 214.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 217.
5. *Idearium español*, Madrid, 1923, pp. 6-7.
6. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, Madrid, 1890, vol. I, p. 298.

Cid never entirely escapes. From the spirit which made Seneca feel himself after having attended a public performance "avaro, ambicioso, lujurioso, cruel", saying, "porque al fin he estado entre hombres[1]"

Ganivet's belief in aristocracy, so obvious throughout the *Epistolario*, was founded primarily on his hatred of the violation of nature. "Me parece hasta un crimen que la gentuza se meta en cosa que no sea trabajar y divertirse[2]", he said, though a certain gentleness in his nature lent a tinge of regret to his consciousness of this feeling, and made him accuse himself of a "vergonzoso dualismo[3]"

> Me parece mal que los altos manden en los bajos, hasta el extremo de no haber mandado yo nunca nada a nadie... En suma : mi credo no puede reducirse a fórmula razonable, pues se compone de mucho amor y mucho palo para los pequeños, y mucho desprecio y mucha autoridad para los grandes[4].
>
> El trabajo de las muchedumbres será siempre geológico[5];
>
> la plebe es el estiércol que sirve para abonar las tierras y nada más[6].

To try to soar without inborn grace is a sin against nature : "Mejor es no ser nada que ser una medianía, y que de lo que se trata es de saber si hay fuerzas para llegar muy alto, o si debe uno quedarse en su casa[7]." He who can soar needs no justification for his power; he is the highest voice of nature; "la libertad, hay que buscarla en el poder de los hombres fuertes[8]"

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 299.
2. *Epistolario*, p. 139.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 184.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 257.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

The individual should be guided by his nature, never by society.

¿ Por qué se ha de transigir con una organización a la cual no nos avenimos y que después de todo es de esperar que no sea muy duradera [1]?

Si la causa de los sinsabores que nos amargan la existencia es el ímprobo trabajo que realizamos para adaptarnos a un medio que no nos es propio, no es tan difícil empezar la cura espiritual cambiando de objetivo, suspendiendo ese penoso trabajo y comenzando a deshacerlo con cierto tacto [2].

Ganivet can think of nothing which would be such a relief from society as to gather his belongings into a yacht " para huir con él mar adentro siempre que sea posible [3] ".

I have dwelt on the *Epistolario* because it contains Ganivet's ideas at their source, and because they are often expressed there with more frankness and piquancy than in his more formal writing. His impassioned contemplation of and devotion to Nature led him in his next work beyond the individual to the consideration of less tangible entities : the city and the nation. To his mind the city was always the entity par excellence [4], treated with an exquisite affection in *Granada la bella*, being there, as entity, immeasurable precious, and especially so as an intimate part of his own being, but there also exists in the *Epistolario* the preoccupation for the integrity of the nation, later to be developed in the *Idearium español*. " El deseo de vivir en buenas relaciones con todo el mundo... lleva a un cosmopolitismo perjudicial para la nación en que se desarrolla, porque hace desaparecer lo sustancial y característico de ella [5]. " The

1. *Epistolario*, p. 180.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 182. See also *Los trabajos del infatigable creador Pío Cid*, Madrid, vol. I, p. 251.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 216.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 231-232.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

business of forming the great human family seems to mean for the most part " que hay que vivir en medio de la calle con excesivo tacto do codos [1] ", and persons who live in many countries are not so different from the soup bone which is passed from one family to another, gaining in polish as it goes, but losing its essential savour [2].

Ganivet's purpose in *Granada la bella*, as in the *Libro de Granada* [3], was that the book should be " un comienzo de regeneración intelectual y literario de esta ciudad, capaz de mover a los perezosos y abatidos que allí viven [4] ", to move them to look beyond their prejudices and passions and *idées fixes* to a synthetic view of their city, of her nature, and her true needs, *Granada la bella* is the finest aesthetic expression of Ganivet's ideas. Of fitness he makes poetry, of a cup of cold water, offered and tasted as the water of Granada should be offered and tasted, a devotion [5]. In this book there appear distinctly as enemies to synthetic comprehension the factors which reappear in the *Idearium* as outstanding in a society suffering from *abulia* : vague formulas, violent gestures, foreign enthusiasms, caught from the winds and doing violence to lovely things whose nature no one tries to understand [6]. Institutions which pass for realities [7], laws which drug incapacity [8], empty educational systems [9], all the pretensions and incoordinations are there,

1. *Ibid.*, p. 177.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 191.
3. Written in collaboration with Matías Mendez Vellido, Nicolás María López and Gabriel Ruiz de Almodovar, included in *El libro de Ganivet*, Granada, 1920.
4. *El libro de Ganivet*, p. 140.
5. *Granada la bella*, p. 27.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 11, 49, 60.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

threatening a beautiful city with the disasters resulting from inconsidered action.

The *Idearium español* is, in the same way, a study of the essential genius of Spain, of the violence done to it by the course of her history, of her resulting exhaustion, of the immediate policy befitting her, and of the brilliant destiny to which her essential character should lead her. Ganivet conceives Spain as being in religion, war, justice and art highly individual, true to her character as a peninsular nation [1]. She developed in the *Reconquista* a unique religion, not of scholastic system but of life [2], a mysticism born of Christian familiarisation with Arab poetry [3], and a fanaticism, and an orthodoxy from which she will never escape [4]. Her warfare is essentially of the guerilla type, noble because it admits of human contact [5], effective because it knows no finale [6]. Her dual sense of pure and personal justice brings her to the procedure expressed in Ganivet's famous phrase : " Castigamos con solemnidad y con rigor para satisfacer nuestro deseo de justicia, y luego, sin ruído ni voces, indultamos a los condenados para satisfacer nuestro deseo de perdón [7]. " Her art is produced by giants who follow nothing but the dictates of their own genius, who cannot be copied [8]. This is the Spain which Ganivet sees, the Spain to which he applies Seneca's words : " No te dejes vencer por nada extraño a tu espíritu [9]. "

What has been the history of this highly individual people ?

1. *Idearium*, p. 35.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Has it been true to its own nature ? On the contrary the circumstances of its history led it to aggressions more suitable to an island state. Events directed Castile's policy towards Africa [1], she joined Aragón in her eastern projects, the discovery of America turned her energies to the west, and dynastic ambitions to the north [2]. The *comuneros* made no headway in their protest against the dispersal of forces under Charles V [3], and by the time of Philip II there had disappeared from the nation all synthetic sensibility, all ability to understand in their totality her various political interests [4]; no one understood how to separate the accidental elements in the situation of Spain from the permanent elements in her character [5]. Spain has scattered her energies to the four winds. She has never had her pure Spanish period [6]. Now she is exhausted; only a nation at the height of its power can afford to ignore the *espíritu territorial* [7]. " España no puede tener hoy política exterior bien determinada, por faltarle una constitución interna bastante robusta para seguir un rumbo propio [8]. " There is nothing to do but destroy the old illusions of material and territorial aggrandisement [9], and follow the motto which Ganivet adapts from St. Augustine : " Noli foras ire; in interiore Hispaniae habitat veritas [10]. "

The foreign policy dictated by this point of view is one of abstinence and concentration. Gibraltar might have worse

1. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

occupants than England[1]; this question will right itself when Spain is able to inspire respect[2]. Iberian unity without harmony of spirit will be of no benefit[3]. As to America, the very qualities of independence with which Spain endowed her colonies must cut her off from all but spiritual union with them[4]. She should not interfere in the Catholic question, for " ni la religión, ni el arte, ni ninguna idea, así sea la más elevada, puede suplir en la acción la ausencia del interés nacional[5] ", and as for the Turks, it is best to watch them, but without thinking of destroying their power; " en el mundo no se debe de destruir nada, porque todo existe por algo y para algo[6] ". There was a time when African expansion would have been natural, but that is over[7]. However the end should not be resignation, least of all a resignation concealed by spasmodic bravado. " Hemos pasado de la acción exterior a la palabra ", says Ganivet, " pero aun no hemos pasado de la palabra a la acción interior[8]. " It is with this *acción interior* that the last part of the book deals.

Spain is suffering from *abulia*[9]. *Abulia* manifests itself in practical life by inability to act, in the intellect by inability to give attention, especially to new ideas, though conceptions of the past are fairly clear[10]. If, in this state, the mind does succeed in grasping a new idea, it is stressed out

1. *Idearium*, p. 109.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 118, 121.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 162. For a remark on Unamuno's previous application of this term see Northup, *op. cit.*, p. 439, Ortega y Gasset criticises this application adversely in *Algunas notas*. Faro, August 9, 1908.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

of all importance, and being unchecked by others, results in an *idée fixe*, which produces unreasonable excitation and even violence [1]. The cause of this condition, concludes Ganivet, is the weakening of the synthetic sense, of the power of association of ideas [2]. Lines drawn upon no principle of association take no form. Just so :

> en el enfermo de abulia las ideas carecen de esta fundamental condición : la sociabilidad. Por lo cual sus esfuerzos intelectuales carecen de eficacia; en unos casos la idea fija, que es la que influye más enérgicamente sobre la voluntad, produce la determinación arrebatada, violenta... en otros, la idea abstracta, o la idea ya vieja, reproducida por la memoria, engendran el deseo débil, impotente, irrealizable; no existen las ideas más fecundas, las ideas sanas que nacen del estudio reflexivo y de la observación corriente de la realidad [3].

What is true of individual is true of national *abulia*.

> En tanto que el pensamiento de una nación no está claramente definido, la acción tiene que ser débil, indecisa, transitoria. El sentido sintético es en la sociedad... la capacidad para obrar concientemente, para conocer bien sus propios destinos [4].

This synthetic sense lacking, what feeble action there is comes from tradition or outside stimulus, both unable to result in energetic volition.

Abulia, then, is a condition caused by the lack of an adequate ideal. What is the cure for this ? " Subordinación absoluta de la actividad a la inteligencia... hay que pensar antes de obrar [5]. " This means that it is important to know how to think. Ganivet, using an analogy suggested by his early years in a mill [6], distinguishes two kinds of

1. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 171.
6. *El porvenir de España*, Madrid, 1912, p. 58.

ideas—*ideas picudas*, las que incitan a la lucha, " and *ideas redondas*, las que inspiran amor a la paz [1] "; *ideas picudas*, destructive, apt to become *idées fixes : ideas redondas*, those held in serenity which triumph of themselves because they produce " un combatiente menos y un trabajador más [2] ". " La idea redonda no crea parcialidades exclusivistas y demoledoras; crea cerebros sanos y robustos, que no producen sólo actos y palabras, sino mejor, obras [3]. "

It is clear, then, that the will of individual and nation alike must be directed by the synthetic sense, which is the power to know one's true destiny and act in accordance. What is the destiny of Spain ? Surely the highest possible; she is to give ideas to the world. The Spanish are a peculiar people, further developed than the other nations, because of having reached before them the stage of loss of material power. Spain cannot copy; she must be an example [4]. By a synthetic process she must reconcile her past and present in her future [5]. Ganivet sees in the genius of Spain one trait which should give her a unique power in the history of the world. Her Semitic blood endows her, like Greece, with peculiar creative power—the *fuego ideal* which Indo-Europeans lack [6]. She must not forget that her material conquest is over, but her true destiny, the dissemination of the ideal, hardly begun.

In *Cartas finlandesas* [7] Ganivet is led by his presence in another nation to similar reflections. Finland has her fundamental race, and the *Kalevala* is its epic [8]. Knowing

1. *Idearium*, p. 174.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 175.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 176.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 156.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 184.
7. Madrid, 1920.
8. *Cartas finlandesas*, pp. 78-79.

herself, she wisely suffers the rule of Russia as her most convenient solution [1], and anyhow, says Ganivet, " es posible que esa tendencia al predominio sea algo tan natural como el amor del hombre a la mujer [2] "; it is surely a more natural thing than federalism, which is a system and doomed, because " todo sistema es falso [3] ". False too are the pan-latinisms, pan-germanisms, pan-americanisms, " ideas generosas que vienen a los postres de los banquetes [4] ". These are the texts for Ganivet's remarks on politics. No particular form of government is sacred [5]. Parliaments are convenient if they meet seldom [6], and universal suffrage is excellent if no one votes [7], these things being useful only to give man the divine belief that he is creating something— " sacando las cosas de la nada [8] ". Everywhere there is warning against the *idea picuda*, leading to the empty word, the unreasoned act. " El verdadero revolucionario no es el hombre de acción; es el que tiene ideas más nobles y más justas, y las arroja en medio de la sociedad para que germinen y echen fruto, y las defiende, si el caso llega, no con la violencia, sino con el sacrificio [9]. "

In the few words of the *Idearium* devoted to education it is recommended that the presentation of *obras* [10] be substituted for examinations. Creation is essentially synthetic— " creamos con todo nuestro ser y nos sale lo que está en nuestra

1. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
10. Note the distinction frequently emphasized by Ganivet between *obras* and *actos*. See above, p. 26.

sangre [1] ". The same idea underlies the educational plan proposed in *Cartas finlandesas* : incorporation of schools of fine arts with the universities, and university service to the public in the form of scientific and artistic performances, that the public may contribute to the support of education and feel itself correspondingly concerned, and that education may not be empty [2]. " Aquí he encontrado ya varias personas que hablan y escriben correctamente media docena de lenguas y que no saben decir nada en ninguna [3]. "

An *obra* for Spain is proposed in the letters exchanged between Ganivet and Unamuno and collected under the title *El porvenir de España*. The shock of ideas there is mainly in that Unamuno thinks of nationality as a barrier to universal Christian brotherhood [4], and proposes economic forces as the determinants of all history, ideas being not causes but effects [5], whereas Ganivet thinks of Spain as a sacred entity whose mission in the world is the dissemination of ideals [6]. Although Ganivet, as ever, warns : " Para crear, es necesario que la nación, como el hombre, se recojan y mediten [7] ", he feels that Spain should dream of some field of action.

> Mientras la forma de la vida europea sea la agresión y se proclame moribundas a las naciones que no atacan... la paz en una sola nación sería más peligrosa que la guerra... Así, pues, España, encerrada en su territorio, aplicada a la restauración de sus fuerzas decaídas, tiene por necesidad que soñar en nuevas aventuras [8].

1. *Granada la bella*, p. 63.
2. *Cartas finlandesas*, p. 204.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
4. *El porvenir de España*, pp. 41-42.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

The noblest adventure that he conceives for her is that she shall give a civilisation to Africa, not through conquest or protectorate [1], but by a process of uplifting the African races " sin violentar su idiosincrasia [2] ". If Ganivet were wealthy he would establish in Granada an *Escuela Africana* whose object should be to found " un plantel de conquistadores de nuevo cuño [3] ". We see the first product of this imaginary institution in the hero whom Ganivet calls Pío Cid, an individual who unites the spirit of the *conquistador* of Spain's past, the idealism of her future, and much, very much of her mistaken present.

La conquista del reino de Maya por el último conquistador español, Pío Cid has been interpreted in widely divergent ways [4], but, given Ganivet's *idée maîtresse*, the sacredness of the individual, the abundant data which prove his sincere interest in an original kind of civilization of Africa [5], and the passages in the *Epistolario* which indicate that he gave free rein in the book to his sense of humor [6], Ganivet's own explanation of Pío Cid to Nicolás María López is clear :

> yo quise que fuera un Robinson español : un hombre de acción y de perspicacia, un transformador de hombres. Mi libro es una protesta contra nuestra política de guerra y brutalidades; España debe

1. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142.
4. See for examples of this divergence :
Fernandez Almagro, *Vida y obras de Ganivet*, Valencia, S. A., pp. 243-249.
Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, *Angel Ganivet, Revue Hispanique*, vol. LVI, p. 531.
R. Cansinos Assens, *La nueva literatura*, Madrid, 1925, vol. I, pp. 81-85.
Maurice Legendre, *Portrait de l'Espagne*, Paris, 1923, pp. 254-255.
Nicolás María López, Introduction to *Cartas finlandesas*, pp. 27-31.
5. Epistolario, pp. 47, 68, 90, 165, 168, 264.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 121, 125-127, 154-158, 161, 247.

emprender las conquistas ideales a que tiene derecho, y es el camino que sigue Pío Cid, aunque éste, por el carácter de la obra, ofrezca un doble aspecto, serio y bromista, dios malo y bueno a la vez [1].

The name chosen by Ganivet for this superman (later hardly distinguishable from himself) with its dual significance of filial devotion and the spirit of conquest, suggests the Aeneas who escaped from Troy, burdened by his father. Just so Pío Cid, in spite of his desire to give the Mayas what their character demands, comes to them with the sins of his country upon his back, and forces upon them alcohol, gunpowder, and *corridas de toros* in the same good faith with which he presents them with soap and fertilizer. " El tono debe ser serio con tendencias a la guasa, y guasón con tendencias a la seriedad ", says Ganivet [2], and throughout the book he handles his dearest ideas light-heartedly. Since cannibals have to file their teeth, he says, Nature must be good; if she were bad they would be filed to begin with [3]. However it seems clear that the points of the Conquista on which Pío Cid is especially congratulated by the shade of Hernán Cortés are serioulsy proposed :

tú saliste de Maya como entraste [4];

amoldaste tu vida a la del pueblo que ibas a regenerar, para que tus ideas parecieran como salidas del seno de la misma nación [5];

and finally :

Los Mayas eran felices como bestias, y tú les has hecho desgraciados como hombres... Conquistar, colonizar, civilizar no es, pues, otra

1. *El libro de Ganivet*, p. 34.
2. *Epistolario*, p. 156.
3. *La conquista del reino de Maya, por el último conquistador español, Pío Cid*, Madrid, 1910, p. 27.
4 For Ganivet's conviction that Spain's colonization should be wholly disinterested see the *Idearium*, pp. 119-120.
5. *La conquista del reino de Maya*, p. 370.

cosa que infundir el amor al esfuerzo que dignifica al hombre, arrancándole del estado de ignorante quietud en que viviría eternamente [1].

Of *Los trabajos del infatigable creador Pío Cid* Ganivet said to Nicolás María López, " La idea fundamental es la transformación social y humana por medio de inventos, lo mismo que la de la *Conquista*, sólo que ahora la nación es España [2] ". Here, more directly expressed, is Ganivet's final conception of the *hombre de voluntad*, who has made the ascent from the *conquistador* to the *creador*. I have said that from the beginning Ganivet found that he was a kind of fatalist, that he was in favor of letting things take their course as long as they worked normally. There is always an air of condescension about Pio Cid's volitions, a bending from the clouds. His pessimism was so deep that he was forced to look for some hold on things, " y así, despreciéndolas todas por malas, sabía amarlas todas por lo poco bueno que tuvieran [3] ", just as to the mystic, ineffably removed from everything, the king and the beggar have equal importance. " El único sentimiento que yo soy capaz de sentir es el amor ", said Pío Cid, " y lo siento por cuantas personas conozco [4] " But he loved distantly, as a god might love; he gave, he never received. He knew that love could make man into a poet (the highest poetry being perhaps action [5]) but he never sought it, and when fate placed it in his way he was sad to think that it must draw him from his own star, where he fulfilled some mysterious higher duty to himself. Almagro has rightly characterized as rarely beautiful [6] the passage in which Pío Cid yields to the

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 369-370.
2. *El libro de Ganivet*, p. 35.
3. *Los trabajos de Pío Cid*, vol. I, p. 24; see also p. 239.
4. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 238.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 297.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 253.

love and duty which fate sends him : " Y él se veía encadenado, sin poder ni querer huir, resignado voluntariamente a seguir un nuevo rumbo y a arrojarse en brazos del azar. Estonces sintió una hondísima y desconsoladora tristeza, y re echó a llorar como un niño[1]. "

Here is a curious will, most active within the bounds of an accepted fate, yet content never to break through them. Of the whim of Martina which takes Pío Cid to a totally new sphere of life it is said. " En estos cambios, decididos por el azar, y a los que él nunca se opuso, creía ver la acción de la fuerza misteriosa que rige la vida de los hombres, encaminándoles hacia sus verdaderos destinos[2]. "

However, once confronted by the duty, which he considered sacred, of bringing every loved thing to the fulfillment of its own highest self, he was inexhaustible in energy and resource. " Cuatro palabras le bastaban para conocer a una persona y para descubrir el punto vulnerable y dominarla[3]. " The six *trabajos* are attempts at this realisation of essential personality. To Purilla, the servant girl to whom Pío teaches reading and writing he says,

> Aunque llegues a ser tan sabia como Salomón, debes seguir siendo criada, para ennoblecer tu oficio... Tú no salgas nunca de la esfera en que te hallas, pues si está de Dios que no vivas siempre como hasta aquí, alguien vendrá que te sacará... Por mucho que aprendas, la cara que sacaste de tu pueblo, no es fácil que la cambies[4].

The students around him, stuffed with the debris of the past, seemed to Pío " pellejos acabados de salir de manos del curtidor y llenos de vino viejo y echado a perder[5] ", and them he instructs especially in " el arte dificilísimo e

1. *Los trabajos de Pío Cid*, vol. I, p. 106.
2. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 319-320.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 204.
4. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 44.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

inagotable de vivir[1] ". He teaches his " Amazons " of the second *trabajo* that the only course for a woman is to be " cada dia más mujer[2] ". In the third *trabajo* he finds and develops a promise of poetry in a boy, and in his sister a tendency to mysticism which marks her for a religious destiny. " Usted es religiosa, y yo lo he comprendido así, y he notado que lo más firme que hay en usted es el sentimiento religioso... Por esto yo me he permitido influir en su ánimo[3]. " He makes clear to the girl the complete disinterestedness of his service. He has no thought of winning anyone to himself : " Yo encuentro a un hombre caído en medio de la calle, y le ayudo a ponerse en pie, y después le dejo sin preguntarle adónde va. Sería justo que por haberle levantado le obligase a venirse conmigo[4] ? " Finally, in the sixth *trabajo* he discovers to a frivolous duchess that her real self is in maternal love[5]. As a result of his efforts each of these persons receives a synthetic conception of himself and of his destiny which prepares him for action, all through the informal, personal education which is the most powerful, says Ganivet, " aunque sea en camisa[6] ".

In the second volume of the *Trabajos* Pío Cid presents a formal portrait of the *hombre de voluntad*[7]. The *hombre de voluntad* is solitary[1], he guards the integrity of his personality[8], his function is to act upon other men, whom he teaches as they come to him[9] : " deja jirones de tu personalidad adheridos a cuantos cerca de ti vivieron ", says

1. *Los trabajos de Pío Cid*, vol. I, p. 49.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 164-173, 192. *Cartas finlandesas*, p. 156.
3. *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 241, 257.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 257.
5. *Ibid.*, vol. II.
6. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 39.
7. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 170.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 171.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

Ganivet[1]. He has no resource beyond his Self. " Yo pongo el centro en el espíritu. ¿ Qué soy ? Nada. ¿ Qué apetezco ? Nada. ¿ Qué represento ? Nada. Ahora estoy en camino de ser un verdadero hombre, puesto que si existe mi personalidad sin buscar apoyo fuera de sí, es porque dentro iene su fuerza[2] ." Finally, the *hombre de voluntad* knows the transforming power of thought. " Se inicia una nueva idea, y esta idea, que al principio pugna con la realidad, comienza a florecer y a fructificar y a crear un nuevo concepto de la vida[3]... Un hombre tenaz, animado por una idea claramente concebida y expresada, triunfa siempre, aunque luche contra él la sociedad entera[4]. "

In Pío Cid appears the Nietzschean superman more nearly than elsewhere in modern Spanish literature; Nietzschean too is the disdain of the individual for the institutions which clutter society and disappear before his will[5], the disdain for democracy. However Ganivet met the greatest need of the society for which he wrote when he placed his emphasis upon the interpretation of will as effort towards the realisation of the individual nature, never too thoughtfully studied, never too deeply reverenced. It is not altogether fair to judge *El escultor de su alma,* his final work, in which appear clearly signs of mental derangement, that his soul's lonely self reliance would inevitably have ended in despair[6], but it is certain that he was always profoundly sad. " Los

1. *Los trabajos de Pío Cid,* vol. II, p. 178.
2. *Ibid.,* p. 178.
3. *Ibid.,* p. 179.
4. *Ibid.* p. 180.
5. For discussions of the influence of Nietzsche on Ganivet see Gómez de Baquero, *España moderna,* August, 1904, vol. III, pp. 175-178; and Almagro, *op. cit.,* pp. 118-126. Ganivet's views on marriage, clearly indicated in the procedure of Pío Cid, are directly expressed in the *Epistolario,* pp. 72, 98.
6. Almagro, *op. cit.,* pp. 276-281.

dioses que formamos somos nosotros mismos... y por esto y por no poder salir de nosotros y por encontrarnos insuficientes, es por lo que nos desesperaremos[1]. "

CHAPTER II

Succeeding Discussions of National Regeneration.

Macías Picavea, Morote, Salillas Altamira, Costa, Noel.

The crisis of 1898 produced many attempts at the synthetic study of Spain urged and inspired by Ganivet—geography, ethnology, economics, history—no element was neglected in the effort to state and solve the problem of the national decadence. It is impossible to deal here with most of these works. Those mentioned by Unamuno as having impressed him[2] are probably the outstanding ones. In varying degrees the writers proposed action in harmony with their conception of the Spanish spirit, although some of them gave more attention to the disease than to the patient. Chapter XIX of *El problema nacional,* by Macías Picavea, presents as *definición del mal* an appalling list of twenty-four national vices, from *austriacismo,* the origin of them all[3], to *irreligiosidad decadentista* and *incivilidad regresiva,*

1. *Epistolario,* p. 248.
2. Preface to *En torno al casticismo,* Madrid, 1902, p. 16.
These are, aside from the works discussed below, the *Idearium* of Ganivet, *El alma castellana,* of *Azorín,* and *Hacia otra España* of Maeztu, all by authors given separate treatment in this study. Havelock Ellis in *The Soul of Spain,* London, 1908, pp. 386-414 sums up the general character of this production.
3. *El problema nacional,* Madrid, 1899, p. 369.

which must be eradicated by the inflexible will of the great leader who is unfortunately long in coming [1]. For Macías Picavea, the dualism in the Spanish climate of kindly sun and malignant drought, was matched by splendid energy and baneful individualism in the Spanish character, and he thought hydraulics as necessary for the one as strict discipline for the other [2]. Luis Morote, seeing the same dualism, looked for help in some force which might harmonize " la energía de la libertad individual con el orden y la fuerza de la asociación [3] ", seeing a magnificent beginning in the educative work of Concepción Arenal, Giner de los Ríos, and Federico Rubió [4]. Rafael Salillas studied the Spanish *pícaro* from the standpoint of criminology [5], Frank W. Chandler from the standpoint of literature [6], and Salillas went beyond the picaresque by referring it to a national impulse which he characterized as *nomadismo* [7], a condition arising from poverty of national resources; " de nuestro parasitismo social hay que hacer el correspondiente descuento, atribuyéndolo a nuestro parasitismo natural [8] ". Any organism must adapt itself to the individual on which it feeds in one of three ways : " la servidumbre, el halago, o la lástima [9] ". Rafael Altamira, by means of a tremendous amount of documentation, sought for the permanent element in the Spanish spirit [10], and saw that it was good, and that Spain's misfortunes were due mostly to circumstance [11]. He wrote

1. *El problema nacional*, p. 502.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-90.
3. *La moral de la derrota*, Madrid, 1900, p. 129.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 517.
5. *Hampa*, Madrid, 1898.
6. *Romances of Roguery*, New York, 1899.
7. *Hampa*, p. 517.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
10. *Psicología del pueblo español*, Barcelona, S. A., pp. 82, 116.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

to combat two evils : lack of agreement as to what constituted the Spanish spirit, and the general pessimism concerning it, whatever it might be [1], recognizing " el poder inmenso que sobre la voluntad ejerce la opinión que de sí propio tiene el sujeto ", nation as well as individual [2]. Spain's confidence, he thought, could best be restored by familiarity with those of her own past thoughts and actions pointing to future greatness [3], a familiarity to be obtained by the reprinting of classics [4] and by a system of university extension which should reach all the people [5].

In his list Unamuno included the work of Joaquín Costa, whose influence was much greater than that of the others, but not essentially different. Costa grew less in philosophy than in emphasis. His early investigations into folklore were undertaken with the aim of studying at their source the political ideals of the Spanish people, a lovely conception of the unity of poetry and law and the harmony of Spanish past and present [6]. The Cid, he said, was not merely an episode in Spanish history; he was a principle and his life an ideal. " Acaso la ingenua y ardiente palabra de mío Cid logre disipar esa nube de dudas, de recelos, y de concojas que flotan en nuestra atmósfera [7]. " This is, of course, far enough from the *siete llaves*. Costa's *Reconstitución y europeización de España* has been called the creed of the Generation of 1898 [8], but it laid undue stress upon the symp-

1. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 211-212.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 210-211.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 240.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
6. *Poesía popular y mitología y literatura celto-hispanas*, Madrid, 1881, 1888, vol. I, p. 19.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 23.
8. López Barrera, *Tendencias de la literatura española desde los comienzos del siglo XX*, Cuenca, 1915, p. 9.

tom. Gómez de Baquero has rightly pointed out the fallacy of considering the nation as victim of a minority of exploiters, of creating the antithesis between governing and governed which results from emphasing *caciquismo* unduly [1]. One feels continually in Costa the attempt to revive by sheer voltage which is in striking contrast with the reasoned calmness of Ganivet. As for Spain, " ... o resucitarla o enterrarla : nada de momias a la vista, engañándonos con una ilusión de la vida [2] ". The greatest danger to the country lies in the

> conformidad musulmana de que parece hacer gala todo el país : la falta de inquietud y desasosiego en el pueblo, de impaciencia en las clases directoras, de fiebre, y aun de pulso, en los gobiernos [3].

Spain goes along with

> una agricultura sahárica, escuelas propias de Kabylia, tan ajenas de la formación de la ciencia y de la historia contemporánea como la tribu más ignota del África central; con el látigo sobre la espalda, bajo un régimen de mandarinismo, decorado con nombres europeos; especie de aduar húngaro, compuesto de famélicos que se arrastran un siglo y otro siglo, bajo un sol dardeante, por el suelo polvoriento de la Península, marcados en la frente con un sello de inferioridad, condenados a envidiar como predilectos de Adán a ingleses, franceses, suizos, alemanes, belgas, su libertad, su prosperidad, sus tribunales, sus escuelas, sus instituciones de previsión y de progreso, su cultura [4].

Costa thought that half of the problem should be solved in the school. Spain has not so much need of men who can read and write; she needs men, and men are made by

1. *La España moderna*, 1901, vol. IV, p. 153.
2. *Reconstitución y europeización de España*, Madrid, 1900, p. 238.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 160-161.

educating the body as well as the spirit, and the will even more than the intellect [1]. He believed with Ganivet that a foreign policy for Spain was absurd [2], but he thought that she should retire, not to dream of a spiritual destiny, but to till her fields and make life possible for her children [3]. Of the two foreign books on Unamuno's list, Hume's *Historia del pueblo español* presents graphically and movingly the progressive exhaustion of Spain through her pride and the desire for distinction which made her welcome as occasions for establishing her superiority among the nations the ravages of the Inquisition and the dynastic policy which drained her life blood [4].

Although he is not mentioned by Unamuno, Eugenio Noel belongs in this group by virtue of everything but age. He is an epigon, savoring most of Costa [5], with the old fury of 1898 against *caciquismo, matonismo, flamenquismo,* and most of all, *tauromaquia.* He has tramped every foot of Spain; he has sought out the iniquities of the tiniest *pueblos* [6]. In his wrath against the *corrida de toros* he describes it in such detail that his pages can hardly be distinguished from those of a journal of tauromachy. He paints violent pictures of a population which can be roused from apathy to exaltation only by the most extreme brutality [7], but he is almost too violent to be taken seriously, and *Azorín* has insinuated that his polemics against the bullfight are read

1 *Ibid.*, p. 27.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-38.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
4. *Op. cit.*, Madrid, S. A., pp. 296, 395, 403, 439.
5. Diez Canedo Enrique, *Revista de Occidente*, vol. III, p. 276.
6. Cansinos, Assens, *La nueva literatura*, vol. II, pp. 82, 87.
7. See his description in *Nervios de la raza*, Madrid, 1915, pp. 113-121, of the little walled town which assures itself *cosquilleos* by turning a bull into its streets, putting out its lights, opening all its doors for the night, and leaving him free to go where he likes.

with more pleasure by the enthusiasts of the sport than by its opponents [1].

These inquiries into the Spanish nature have been mentioned summarily as treatises rather than literature in the strict sense of the word, but we shall see that literature too is pervaded by the desire to know the *alma española*. There are few of Pío Baroja's heroes who do not seek along Spanish roads the answer to some spiritual quest; *Azorín* asks enlightenment equally from the *Quijote* or from a modern inn in La Mancha; Valle Inclán revives Spain's archaic grandeur from her dust, and among the poets there arises a whole school of *castellanistas* who find in the Spanish epopeya and in the melancholy of the Spanish plains certain intimacies of their own souls [2]. This penetrative insight into Spanish nature was new. *Clarín* noted that in the work of Galdós nature had served only as a background for his personnages [3], and Diez Canedo shows how even Ruben Darío, not yet touched by the new spirit, wrote in *España contemporánea* (1898-1900) of the *amor de España* :

> Amor que da el clavel, la flor extraña
> Regada con la sangre de los toros...

and in *Tierras solares* (1904), feeling the new intimacy :

> La ternura y el huso
> con el grano de trigo
> y la copa de vino...

La España, que en *España contemporánea* era un espectáculo, en *Tierras solares* es una amistad [4].

1. *Los valores literarios*, Madrid, 1921, pp. 230-240.

2. See Juan Mas y Pi, *Letras españolas*, Buenos Aires, 1911, pp. 203-205; Cansinos Assens, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 151; Gómez de Baquero, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 149. Notable among the *castellanistas* are the Machado brothers in works like *Campos de Castilla* and *Museo*. *Azorín*, *Los valores literarios*, p. 79, comments on the extremes which resulted when this enthusiasm sank to an artifice among the minor poets.

3. *B. Pérez Galdós*, Madrid, 1889, p. 19.

4. *Conversaciones literarias* (1915-1920), Madrid, S. A., pp. 265266.

It is impossible to say what part of this revival was inspired by Ganivet. The stress of the times, the communicative nature of Spanish society, and the close literary associations of the capital favor influences " in the air ", but it is certain that more than one of the young, energetic spirits who dominated the years following 1898 looked to Ganivet as their fountain head, and spoke of him as the master of them all [1].

CHAPTER III

Pessimism and Refuge in Illusion. The individualists

Unamuno, Baroja, *Azorín*.

Ganivet himself represented the elements which he considered fundamental in the Spanish spirit : he was an Oriental fatalist in his abandon to outer events; a Stoic in his service to the will; and a Christian in his direction of it towards harmonizing the lives of others. He acted from a conception of man's dignity which impelled him to give without return, and we have seen that the only outlet which he conceived for Spain's activity was a gift to Africa whose only reward should be the consciousness of duty performed. His volitions were, in the end, centrifugal. The will, he thought, should first be directed to the realisation of the self, but, that accomplished, it should reach out to transform other selves, though always with reverence for their natures, sensed through the delicacy of intuition which is so striking a quality in Pío Cid, interpreted by the intelligence, directed into

1. Almagro, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

reasoned activity. For all his worship of Nature, Ganivet recognized in man's intelligence a higher something which had the power to bring to realisation Nature's own unspoken thoughts. He loved Nature, but he did not fear her, and he believed in the power of his will to work her own highest good.

In the group of writers, Unamuno, Baroja, and *Azorín*, whom I have characterized as Individualists, the conception of the will was entirely different. They thought of it in the Schopenhauerian sense of unappeasable desire, as the moving force of the universe, the vital instinct in man. They were terrified by the vision of a desire forever renewed, forever unsatisfied, by a universe without rest or finality. They were paralyzed, knowing themselves in the grasp of this fate. They felt the utter futility of any effort, which would only be a new manifestation of the same dark power, and they retired into themselves, each seeking to satisfy the demands of the will in whatever way would make his individual and momentary life bearable, since the whole scheme of things was irreparably wrong. They decided that this could be done only by subordinating the intellect, ignoring the truth, seeking no end beyond individuel satisfaction, and giving to the importunate will what it asked in the form of illusions, as final admission of their inability to make reality appease desire. Whereas to Ganivet the will was a force in man stronger than Nature, to them it was a force of Nature engulfing man with the rest of the universe, and making of his struggles a tremendous irony. They were, as a group, intensely conscious of Spain's individuality, they lived for her [1], and in her atmosphere it was not too difficult to find refuge from philosophy by saying that life was a dream with no reality beyond the dreamer,

1. The influence of foreign authors was, of course, strong in this group, but always applied to Spain. For a list of foreign influences see *Azorín, Clásicos y modernos*, pp. 305-308.

a natural resource of the individualism which has always been strong in the Spanish soul. To be fed upon illusions in a more or less noble form : this is the final fate of the will in all of the Spanish individualists whom I am about to discuss.

The philosophy of Unamuno, the first of the individualists, is much nobler than that of the others. He spiritualized the vital impulse by making it the individual's will to attain his soul's immortality. He did not fear the will, he exalted it, but he felt bound to satisfy it, and we shall see that he too was forced to retire into himself and abandon the world of reason.

I have already said that in the letters exchanged between Unamuno and Ganivet one of the two great points of difference arose from Unamuno's conception of the nation as a barrier to the higher unity which Christianity demands. He saw in the pride of individualism which had led Spain to vaunt her superiority among the nations a grave offense against the Christian spirit[1]. He was led into stating that Don Quijote recovered from his madness only when he desisted from the unchristian attempt to force his ideas upon society, and went home to die peacefully in his bed, a statement of which he afterwards repented in much sackcloth and ashes. The articles printed in 1895 in *España Moderna*, now constituting *En torno al casticismo*, which really initiate the type of investigation continued in the *Idearium español* have much to say of the fierce individualism of the Spanish spirit. It is like its

1. *El porvenir de España*, pp. 32-35. See *En torno al casticismo*, p. 23, for Unamuno's interest in Hume's exposition of the Spanish *idée maîtresse*. Here is the source of the envy which he sees at the heart of Spanish society and sets forth in *Abel Sánchez*, Madrid, 1917. See also *Mi religión*, Madrid, 1910, pp. 57-58.

own plains which appear " como en inmensa plancha de mosaico de pobrísima variedad, sobre la que se extiende el azul intensísimo del cielo. Faltan suaves transiciones, ni hay otra continuidad armónica que la de la llanura inmensa y el azul compacto que la cubre e ilumina[1] ". This spirit is " pobre en nimbos de ideas "; it has no middle ground between " un realismo vulger y tosco y un idealismo seco y formulario "; Don Quijote and Sancho are forever two[2]. Unamuno is with Ganivet in remarking in the Spanish character a fundamental impenetrability to new ideas in spite of its *irritabilidad epidérmica*[3], and in stressing the tendency of every Spaniard to take justice into his own hands[4]. The lack of a mean between realism and idealism creates an abundance of conflicts of duty, categorical imperatives, *voluntades desnudas*[5], and alternate spasms of fierce resolution or complete resignation which make the Spaniards " si vencidos, fatalistas; libre-arbitristas, si vencedores[6] ". The Spanish mystic tried to harmonize these extremes by seeking God, but he sought Him in the denial of the very passions by which the denial was effected[7]; in the end he sought Him to satisfy his thirst for individual attainment, just as Unamuno himself finally rejected absorption into no matter what divine good to return to his *yo*. " Si San Juan de la Cruz quiere vaciarse de todo, busca esta nada para lograrlo todo, para que Dios y todo con El sea suyo[8]. "

It seemed to Unamuno that there came with the foreign contact of the Renaissance a softening of this harsh spirit

1. *En torno al casticismo*, p. 88.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 120-121.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 118-119.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

of conquest [1], a conception of a harmony between all created things leading to harmony with God which had never touched the Spanish spirit before it heard the music of Luis de León. " Que soberano himno entona el maestro León a la paz en *Los nombres de Cristo*, alzando los ojos al cielo tachonado de estrellas. Es la paz reflejo del concierto del mundo, y no la lucha ley de la vida [2]. " It appeared, then, to Unamuno that the remedy for the individualism which at this stage he deplored was closer relationship with the outside world, the inflowing of a softening, renewing life. Spain should know herself well—how understand others' impulses not knowing one's own ? She should study the rhythm of her plains and the songs of the blind men in her streets [3], but she should open her veins as well to the play of osmosis and exmosis [4]. To the materialists of his time Unamuno said : Science results from the agregate of many specializations [5], technical perfection from the interrelation of economic needs [6], and the taking over of the inventions of others with no effort to understand their spirit is the crime of a Chinaman *de siete borlas* [7]. After all, internationalism is the most practical as well as the most Christian way.

With this ideal before him Unamuno resented the regenerationist literature following the disaster, all in terms of nationalism. Why talk to the people about a *patria* suffering from *abulia ?* The people, he said, " oyen hablar de todo eso como quien oye llover, y el pueblo está aquí en lo firme... su aparente indiferencia arranca de su cristiana salud [8] ".

1. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
2. *Ibid.*, 172.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 204. See also *Tres ensayos*, Madrid, 1900, p. 54.
4. *De la enseñanza superior en España*, Madrid, 1899, p. 75.
5. *En torno al casticismo*, p. 49.
6. *De la enseñanza superior en España*, p. 59.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
8. *La España moderna*, November 1898, p. 69.

The people know no *patria*, only the bit of ground below which nourishes it, and above it another country, a heavenly, whose contemplation no idea should be allowed to disturb [1]. " No la hay, por grande que sea, que valga la paz interior de un pueblo... El enredar a los hombres en la lucha por la vida histórica de la nación, ¿ no les distrae y aparta de luchar por su propia vida eterna [2] ? ".

Certainly the enthusiasm for europeanization was coming to be in the public mind a matter of material imitation, *la voluntad* a matter of resolutely growing rich [3], and to these ideas Unamuno offered stern opposition : " Nadie nos quita de la cabeza que nos han vencido por ser ellos más ricos, por saber más física aplicada y más química industrial, por tener más caminos y más canales, y por saber menos latín y ser menos religiosos que nosotros [4] ", and his reflection over this error led him to the thesis which he has expounded ever since that life, neither for individual nor nation can be an end in itself, that life has no meaning without a faith. Spain, said Unamuno, taking a step back towards Don Quijote, was great when she had a faith, when she had an ideal conception of her mission among the nations [5]. " ¡ Motivo de vivir! Fe, una fe cualquiera, pero fe, fe libre, la fe que crea, y nutriéndose de su propia creación, la consume [6]. " We shall see in a moment that the essence of all Unamuno's thought on the will is here, in the words " la fe que crea ". What, to Unamuno, is faith ?

Faith is entirely distinct from idea, and ultimately opposed to it. Unamuno shared none of Ganivet's belief in the idea

1. *La España moderna*, November 1898, p. 71.
2. *Ibid.*, November 1898, p. 72.
3. See Barrera, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.
4. *De la enseñanza superior en España*, p. 43.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

as the moving force of the world; no idea, he said, was worth the peace of religious contemplation, and he was perfectly consistent in changing his own ideas with such rapidity that he has been compared to the Island of Delos, floating to the winds[1]. To him there is no true idea but the *idea hombre*, the individual[2]; he may contradict himself every day, yet never cease to express his own truth[3]; he cannot be classified among ideologies, he is an *especie única*[4]. A false intellectualism has led the individual to discuss Life when *his* life is the only reality[5]. Faith in ideas, then, is vain : faith in creeds a dead thing which has long hung upon Spain with the rest of the world[6]. No solution comes to any man ready made[7], and the only truth for him is the intimate relationship between his spirit and the universe[8]. " La fe es confianza ante todo y sobre todo; fe en sí mismo tiene quien en sí mismo confía, en sí y no en sus ideas[9]. " And faith in oneself involves the recognition and satisfaction of the desires that grow out of one's life; it involves even more; it involves the creation of what is necessary to satisfy those desires, which brings Unamuno to his characteristic statement that faith is not *creer* but *crear*[10].

In *Amor y pedagogía* there appears clearly the nature of the most fundamental desire in man which it is the business of faith to satisfy. The book is a sermon on the futility

1. *Cansinos Assens, op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 50.
2. *Tres ensayos*, p. 24.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
4. *Mi religión*, pp. 10, 14.
5. *Tres ensayos*, p. 47.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 52.
7. *Mi religión*, p. 15.
8. *Tres ensayos*, p. 34.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
10. It should be noted here that Unamuno suspects *la fe* and *la voluntad* of being synonymous for him. See *El sentimiento trágico de la vida*, Madrid, 1913, p. 191. Also *Tres ensayos*. p. 52.

of science and intellect in the face of the great desire for immortality which dominates man's life. The father of the unhappy hero plans long before his birth that the child shall be the perfect product of science, but the great instinct defeats his purpose. Apolodoro, desperately conscious of his *morcilla*, Unamuno's word for the line which each individual adds of his own accord to the great drama of life [1], wounded in his desire for fame and in his desire for love, both springing from the desire for immortality, only gains added despair from his tutor, Don Fulgencio, who himself suffers terribly from *erostratismo*, the disease handed down from Erostratus, who burned the temple of Ephesus to increase his fame [2], the disease for which, says Unamuno, no one is free, for " vivir es anhelar la vida eterna [3] ". " ¿ Quién soy yo ? " cries Don Fulgencio. " Un hombre que tiene conciencia de que vive, que se manda vivir y no que se deja vivir... Yo tengo voluntad y no resignación de vivir... y moriré [4]. " Thus having wrung Apolodoro's heart, and suggested no solution but a half hearted physical perpetuation of life, he lets the boy go out into the dark to take his own life.

Unamuno finds for this longing a sublime satisfaction in the power of the will to believe in the existence of the thing it needs, identifying itself with the faith which he has defined as not *creer* but *crear*, and this creative faith, arrayed in absurd isolation against the hosts of reason, finds for him its perfect expression in the madness of Don Quijote—a madness which he had deplored, which he came at last to exalt in the apostrophe : " Alma de mi alma, corazón de

1. *Amor y pedagogía*, Barcelona, 1902, p. 71.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 172. This disease is likewise explained in *La Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho*, Madrid, 1905, p. 213.
3. *Amor y pedagogía*, p. 173.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

mi vida, insaciable sed de eternidad e infinitud! Sé mi pan de cada día. Hábil ? No, hábil no; no, no quiero ser razonable según esa miserable razón que da a comer a los vividores; enloquéceme, mi Don Quijote[1]! " As Don Quijote found in his Dulcinea the spur to glory, to immortality, which is the deepest thing in the love of woman[2], and set forth with the will to win he knew not what fame, so " toda vida heróica o santa corrió siempre en pos de la gloria, temporal o eterna, terrena o celestial ", says Unamuno[3], a glory found on no one field, in no one battle. " Que busquen ellos como yo busco, que luchen como lucho yo, y entre todos algún pelo de secreto arrancaremos a Dios, y por lo menos esa lucha nos hará más hombres[4]. " " No es la inteligencia sino la voluntad la que nos hace el mundo—nada se conoce sin haberlo antes querido[5] ", " el cielo padece fuerza[6] ". To Ganivet's " Know thyself " Unamuno answers : " Te debe importar poco lo que eres; lo cardinal para ti es lo que quieras ser[7]. "

The noble absurdity of this challenge of the will to believe to the world of reason[8] is the theme of *El sentimiento trágico de la vida.* The very essence of man's being is his desire to persist[9]; he must have faith in immortality, and this he can attain only by trampling upon reason[10], which would deny

1. *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho*, p. 366.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
4. *Mi religión*, p. 12.
5. *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho*, p. 149.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 323.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
8. The influence of this philosophy is strong in the later work of Antonia Machado. See his confession of discipleship, *Poesías completas*, Madrid, 1917, p. 202, and the dialogue between the reason and the heart, p. 243.
9. *El sentimiento trágico de la vida*, p. 10.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

the fulfilment of this desire[1]. His life is a constant cry. " Creo, Señor, socorre a mi incredulidad[2]. " He must face this paradox undismayed. " El más alto heroísmo para un individuo, como para un pueblo, es saber afrontar el ridículo[3]. " God himself is subject to ridicule; has He not made a world with some seemingly loose ends which give room for criticism[4]? This will to believe is characteristic of Spain, who has preserved her mediaeval spirit against all the intellectual currents which came in with the Renaissance, and will always be irreducible to culture because her aspirations transcend reason[5]. And Unamuno feels in himself a mediaeval soul[6].

His creative faith can never be quiet; it must always struggle if only " para apagar el incesante rumor de las aguas eternas y profundas, las de debajo de todo, que van diciendo que todo es nada[7] ". In his later thought the struggle is given another significance. It is a defiance to the worst that fate can do; it is the challenge according to Senancour : " L'homme est périssable. Il se peut; mais périssons en résistant, et si le néant nous est réservé, ne faisons pas que ce soit une justice[8]. "

The last part of *El sentimiento trágico de la vida* is strongly Schopenhauerian. Unamuno, indeed, announces himself in agreement with Schopenhauer's conception of the force (*la voluntad*) pervading the universe, through which each creature partakes of every other, so that the highest mora-

1. *El sentimiento trágico de la vida*, pp. 308-309.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 307. *Mi religión*, p. 9.
4. *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho*, p. 51.
5. *El sentimiento trágico de la vida*, p. 312.
6. *Ibid.*, p.p. 313.
7. *Mi religión*, p. 28.
8. *El sentimiento trágico de la vida*, p. 255.

lity is compassion[1]. He feels with Schopenhauer that volition means eternal suffering[2], though he welcomes that as a sign of life and personality[3], but his strong individualism rebels against a system which does not end in the personification of the ultimate force[4], since he can conceive finality only in a Consciousness with a purpose[5]. To the conception of God one comes by regarding through love the eternal aspect of things, which is their beauty[6], and this love personifying everything, "personaliza también al Universo mismo, que también sufre, y nos descubre a Dios. Porque Dios se nos revela porque sufre y porque sufrimos; porque sufre exige nuestro amor, y porque sufrimos nos da el suyo y cubre nuestra congoja con la congoja eterna e infinita[7]". Thus the suffering inseparable from volition which brought about Schopenhauer's denial of life becomes Unamuno's highest affirmation.

Unamuno may feel poetically the suffering of all created things[8], but only as a stage in his attainment of the conception of God which his will has proposed. He thinks of the will as opposed to the intelligence because the intelligence is absorbed by the world, whereas the will absorbs the world[9], and his spirit, flight upon flight, absorbs, till he faces at last the merging of his soul in the eternal Good. There he draws back. "Mi alma, al menos, anhela otra cosa, no absorción, no quietud, no paz, no apagamiento, sino eterno acercarse sin llegar nunca, inacabable anhelo,

1. *El sentimiento trágico de la vida*, pp. 147-148.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 203.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 202.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

eterna esperanza que eternamente se renueva sin acabarse del todo nunca. Y con ello un eterno carecer de algo y un dolor eterno[1]. "

In Unamuno's later work he seeks to express through half symbolic human relations the power of the will to evoke what it desires, and there move through his pages creatures, shadowy in the mist of ideas from which Pío Cid is not exempt[2], with tremendous and fantastic volitions. *Niebla* ends with a conflict between the author, who has decided to kill the protagonist whom he has created, and the protagonist who, finally conscious of his life, wills to live[3], and leads his creator to wonder later on whether he himself has not perhaps lived merely to bring protagonist into being[4], and to reflect that he himself is only one more personage of his creation[5]. The characters of *Tres novelas ejemplares y un prólogo* are monsters of volition. It seems impossible that the child born in obedience to the will of the woman in *Dos madres* is not her own, and the hero of *Nada menos que todo un hombre* cannot conceive of living on after his will has been thwarted even by so imperious a power as Death[6].

Unamuno finally came over to nationalism as he came over to individualism. He finally recognized and exalted the personality of his country as he did his own, by thinking of it as more disposed to rhetoric than to logic, fitter for metaphysical subtleties than for the utilities of life, parta-

1. *El sentimiento trágico de la vida*, pp. 251-252. See also, p. 172.
2. This same phenomenon occurs in the work of Pérez de Ayala after his first group of four novels. The ideology with which contemporary Spanish literature is oberburdened tends to turn it from realism to symbolism. See Cansinos Assens, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 51, 65.
3. *Niebla*, Madrid, 1914, p. 91.
4. *Tres novelas ejemplares y un prólogo*, Madrid, 1920, p. 14.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
6. See the statement of Unamuno's thesis regarding the will, *Tres novelas ejemplares y un prólogo*, pp. 15-17.

king of the African spirit as seen in St. Augustine rather than of the modern European spirit[1]. He suggested as motto :" Hay que africanizarse a la antigua " or " Hay que anticuarse a la africana[2] ". Why not admit once for all that the Spanish spirit is refractory to the intellectual culture of Europe, and live the life of the will which aspires without reason[3] ? He regretted his contribution to what he calls *la hórrida literatura regeneracionista,* reeking with good sense and europeanization. " En esa ridícula literatura caímos casi todos los españoles... y se dió el caso de aquel archi-español Joaquín Costa, uno de los espíritus menos europeos que hemos tenido, sacando lo de europeizarnos y poniéndose a cidear mientras proclamaba que había que cerrar con siete llaves el sepulcro del Cid y contestar Africa. Y yo di un " ¡Muera Don Quijote[4]! " That is all long past. Here is the Unamuno of the present : " Soy español sobre todo y ante todo, y el españolismo es mi religión, y el cielo en que quiero creer es una España celestial y eterna, y mi Dios un Dios español, el de Nuestro Señor Don Quijote, un Dios que piensa en español y en español dijo, ¡sea luz! y su verbo fué verbo español[5]. "

Pío Baroja began his career with sufficient energy to think not only with resignation but with exultation of the ferocious nature which he conceived of as the universal struggle for existence. His love of activity called him to the fight. He thought it worth while for its own sake. His heroes rose from the margin of society in imperious expression of nature with their hand against every man in continual revolt. But

1. *Ensayos,* Madrid, 1916-1918, vol. VII, p. 160.
2. *Ibid.,* p. 161.
3. *Ibid.,* pp. 167, 168.
4. *El sentimiento trágico de la vida,* pp. 300-301.
5. *Niebla,* p. 286.

there came a time when even Baroja's spirit flagged before the conception of this blind and endless struggle. He too sought refuge in illusion.

I have spoken of the suffering which attends so much of modern individualism. Baroja, the physician, began his study there, proceeding from a more or less superficial recognition of will or lack of will in the alcohol victims of *La casa de Aizgorri*[1] to detailed studies of *abulia* in *Silvestre Paradox* and *Camino de perfección*, both books dealing with victims of *fin de siècle* psychology, where the disease is acute and the healing slow. Silvestre Paradox suffered from intellectualism; his egoism made all spiritual consolation impossible[2], and his spirit was fatigued by its conception of the incessant struggle for life[3]. He saw nothing beyond " el cansancio eterno de la eterna imbecilidad de vivir ". He began by not leaving his house; he ended by not leaving his bed. It seemed to him that every society should have a *matadero de hombres* to receive the disillusioned and beaten[4]. He had a lively and ingenious mind, but no will[5], until, by participation in many enterprises, by sheer force of action, he developed an artificial energy sufficient unto the day. " Es verdad, la muerte mejor que la vida, " he said on the night before leaving for a new field of action, but, the train once in motion, he issued a challenge to Nature, " muerta, indiferente, y fría, que helaba y agarrotaba sus miembros, pero que no podía nada contra su espíritu[6]. "

1. Madrid, 1900. See pp. 99, 100, 115.
2. *Adventuras, inventos y mistificaciones de Silvestre Paradox*, Madrid, 1901, p. 32.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 93. A detailed study could be made of the influence of the Russians upon Baroja's conception of *abulia*. *Páginas escogidas*, Madrid, 1918, p. 9.
4. *Silvestre Paradox*, p. 100.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 282.

On the other hand, Fernando Ossorio, of *Camino de perfección*, has an inheritance of hysteria to add to the supersensitiveness of the artist [1], and is capable of a refinement of suffering quite beyond Paradox. Life rather repels than fatigues him... " el mundo de afuera no existe; tiene la realidad que yo le quiero dar. Y sin embargo, qué vida ésta más asquerosa [2]! " He is cured, not by complexity of action, but by exposure to the soothing presence of Nature [3], and his wanderings in search of her peace are among the finest of the journeys in which Baroja seeks for his characters relief from society, and intimacy with their Spain [4]. " Yo tuve una excitación nerviosa ", says Fernando's German companion, " y me curé andando mucho y leyendo a Nietzsche [5] ", two points which summarize the spirit of all of Baroja's therapeutics. Furthermore Fernando's wanderings are inspired by the need of escape not only from his own suffering spirit, but from the civilization which has no understanding for it, whose pedagogues have tortured him [6], whose dry religion mocks his artist's conception of a religion in which color, poetry, and silence should touch the instincts [7], whose hold he sees at last tightening around his own child [8]. From all this Fernando finds a refuge in Nature, and from her he learns the sweet truth that she is less cruel than men think : " Si la muerte es depósito, fuente, manantial de vida, ¿ a qué lamentar la existencia

1. *Camino de perfección*, Madrid, 1902, p. 16.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 212.
4. For a discussion of the predominance of the Spanish point of view in the work of Pío Baroja, see Mas y Pi, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-79.
5. *Camino de perfección*, p. 85.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 198-199.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 138-139.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 281-282.

de la muerte ? No, no hay que lamentar nada. Vivir y vivir... ésa es la cuestión [1]. "

In *El mayorazgo de Labraz* Baroja passes to one of the more violent manifestations of nature which distract society in Ramiro, a gypsy brought up in a decadent hidalgo family, whose passionate will annihilates the twilight world of his gentle blind brother, forcing him to seek a new and more natural life. Ramiro's acts are, according to the standards of society, immoral, yet they have a quickening force that Baroja covets for the nobler brother. " No hay destino ni fatalidad para el hombre fuerte ", says Don Martín to him. " ¿ Y crees tú que yo no lo soy ? " " — Quizás demasiado. Tienes la fortaleza de un santo o de un estoico; yo lo que te pido es que seas hombre [2]. " It is usual to mention Ramiro with Quintín, who appears in *La feria de los discretos*, and finds his ideal in *hombres de acción, gente de bronce* [3], but Quintín is less purely an expression of the will of Nature, more calculating, less passionate than adventurous, even romantic in finally surrendering the woman of whom he feels himself unworthy [4]. " Ni una cosa es inteligencia ", he says, " ni la otra es actividad. La cuestión es tener un núcleo de ideas, grandes, fuertes, que dirijan la vida... Lo que pasa a los ingleses [5]. "

In fact the most definite preaching of the will to be found in Baroja is done by an Englishman, Roberto, of the trilogy, *La lucha por la vida*, and is directed to the ambitionless Manuel, whose gradual rise in the world appears sufficiently

1. *Camino de perfección*, p. 240. The same idea is beautifully expressed in *Paradox rey*, Madrid, 1906, p. 191. « En la destrucción está el pensamiento de lo que anhela llegar a ser. »
2. *El mayorazgo de Labraz*, Madrid, 1913, p. 268.
3. *La feria de los discretos*, Madrid, 1905, p. 205.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 430-431. See also Gómez Baquero, *Novelas y novelistas*, Madrid, 1918, p. 135, and Mas y Pi, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-57.
5. *La feria de los discretos*, p. 259.

the result to give the work a moral tinge rare in Baroja. In Roberto the possession of a strong will is a matter of duty; he proposes a course of gymnastics to develop it in the petty details of life [1]. " Saber desear con fuerza es lo primero que se debe aprender ", he tells Manuel. He despairs of an energetic future for Spain; the Spaniard, like the Moor, is lazy from an instinct which is deeper than any idea; if he becomes an anarchist it is not because he believes in himself, but because he believes in providence. What he needs is a benevolent despotism to check his individualism and supply his lack of organization [2]. The battle, thinks Roberto, is to the strong. For the world in general the tags of anarchism, socialism, religion, love, are worth nothing except as illusions which make life slightly more agreeable. No system can change permanently the conditions of the struggle for life. " Remedio ninguno. El remedio está en la misma lucha; el remedio está en hacer que la sociedad se rija por las leyes naturales de la concurrencia. Lo que en castellano quiere decir, que a quien Dios se la dé, San Pedro se la bendiga [3]. " Roberto's northern blood warms to the struggle. " Ya que nuestra ley es la lucha, aceptémosla, pero no con tristeza, con alegría. La acción es todo, la vida, el placer. Convertir la vida estática en vida dinámica : éste es el problema [4]. "

But for the tenderness with which he treats Juan, the gentle artist with an artist's anarchy [5], one might think that all Baroja was in Roberto, but all Baroja is in no one character; his novels are suggested by a person or object that he has an impulse to discuss, the detail comes before

1. *La busca*, Madrid, 1904, p. 230.
2. *Aurora roja*, Madrid, 1910, pp. 150-151.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 330.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 331.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

the philosophy, and one must search all along the way for shreds of his personality [1]. There is much of him in Paradox rey, who appears in 1906, announcing that in his dictionary the word *imposible* is lacking [2], proceeds to the resolute rule of his African tribe, denouncing art as an overthrow of Nature's equilibrium [3], and declaiming : " Vivamos hechos unos bárbaros, vivamos la vida libre, sin trabas, sin escuelas, sin leyes, sin maestros, sin pedagogos, sin farsantes [4]. "

Baroja created one more type allied to Roberto in the hero of *César o nada* [5], and followed up to a certain point his calculated efforts to attain his goal, but as we shall see in a moment, his interest in action was turning him from the study of passion and will to the external of adventure, and *César o nada* has the peripatetic trend observable in Baroja from the first, but coming more and more to substitute nervousness for passion, and taking almost complete possession of his work after the period closing with *El árbol de la ciencia*.

This book, which is in many respects autobiographical [6], has been said to condense better than any other Baroja's philosophy [7]; it does, indeed, summarize his first period of production and indicate the motives underlying the second. The long dialogue between Andrés and Iturrioz reveals the individual confronting the dark philosophies of his time, viewing his dilemma, and making his choice. It presents a striking panorama of the ruthlessness of Nature, which is always at the back of Baroja's mind. " La vida es una lucha constante, una cacería cruel en que nos vamos devo-

1. *Páginas escogidas*, p. 12.
2. *Paradox rey*, p. 188.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 232-233.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 233.
5. Madrid, 1910.
6. *Juventud, egolatría*, p. 203.
7. *Azorín, Lecturas españolas*, p. 226.

rando los unos a los otros, plantas, microbios, animales. " The hyena, the spider, and the tree drawing its nourishment from the earth are engaged in the same process [1]. The long domination of semitic resentment with its false morality of the weak is over at last [2], and there is now nothing to conceal or soften the hard truth, the all-powerful presence of the blind force which Schopenhauer called the will, lightened only by " un fenómeno secundario, una fosforescencia cerebral, un reflejo, que es la inteligencia ". Shall the individual identify himself with this blind will, be of those que " cantan la vida cruel, canalla, infame, la vida sin finalidad, sin objeto, sin principio y sin moral " ? Or shall he grope at the faint phosphorescence which may tell him that somewhere there is a meaning [3] ? Shall he satisfy himself with the fruit of the tree of life, or shall he eat of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, which God has forbidden him [4] ?

Baroja decides against the knowledge of good and evil. He cannot face the idea of the blind struggle after all. For living, illusion is far more necessary than truth. Did not Don Quijote live magnificently from his illusions ? " A más comprender, menos desear... La apetencia por conocer se despierta en los individuos que aparecen al final de una evolución, cuando el instinto de vivir languidece. " Let science, then, seek to determine one thing : " la cantidad de mentira que es necesaria para la vida [5] ", since the effect of the truth is to make the individual decide that it is better to do nothing. He has only two alternatives : " o la abs-

1. *El árbol de la ciencia*, Madrid, 1911, p. 185.
2. This is of course directly Nietzschean. See Nietzsche, Friedrich, *The Genealogy of Morals*, translated by Horace B. Samuel, New York, p. 1-38.
3. *El árbol de la ciencia*, pp. 187-188.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

tención y la contemplación indiferente de todo, o la acción, limitándose a un círculo pequeño [1] ", a " cierta cantidad de mentira ". Illusion is the only solution. " Lo he comprendido tarde ", says Baroja [2]. The artificial importance given to a limited field does not mean blindness to all beside. It is only a device to rescue the will from being engulfed by thought, and to give to it for a moment the stimulus and satisfaction of an end [3].

There is to be found on almost every page of Baroja's work some indication of his love of action. He describes it as the remedy for the *mal de vivir* [4]. " La maldad del hombre ", he says, " no es esa maldad activa, teatral e interesada, sino la maldad pasiva, torpe [5] " " Cuando Baroja oye o escribe la palabra *acción*, experimenta la misma aceleración de los pulsos que Stendhal con la palabra *pasión* o Nietzsche con la palabra *macht* ", says Ortega y Gasset [6]. From his youth he had devoured *folletines* [7], and when he found the papers relating to the life of a maternal ancestor to be *folletines* with a certain stamp of intimacy, he grasped at his inheritance, for he saw in the exploits of Aviraneta, in the following of adventure for its own sake, the limitation of interest which makes life endurable.

The peripatetic element, obscured by philosophy in *Camino de perfección* and *El Mayorazgo de Labraz*, had become more apparent in *La lucha por la vida*, preponderant in *La*

1. *El árbol de la ciencia*, p. 135.
2. *Juventud, egolatría*, p. 31. Baroja also expresses his ideas on the subject of limitation in the story of the blacksmith, *Nuevo tablado de Arlequin*, Madrid, 1917, pp. 15-21.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 31. For certain characteristic remarks on *señoritismo*, p. 112.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 38. See also *la Lectura*, 1919, vol. III, p. 406.
6. *El Espectador*, vol. I, p. 177.
7. *Divagaciones de autocrítica. Revista de Occidente*, vol. IV, p. 51.

feria de los discretos, and all absorbing in *Los últimos románticos*, where Don Fausto, a complete dilettante in the world of action, spends his life listening breathlessly to meaningless conspiracies[1]. It was prominent in the adventures of María and her father in *La dama errante* and *La ciudad de la niebla*[2] as well as in the career of the hero of *César o nada*. Finally in the long series of *Memorias de un hombre de acción* it resulted in a network of conspiracies, counter-conspiracies, arrests, escapes, attacks, reprisals—an attempt at a second series of *Episodios nacionales* in which the protagonist sank from a nation to an adventurer. Aviraneta thought of himself as a man of action doomed to misery in a country of rhetoric and oratory[3] without realizing that his was only the rhetoric of action, and that the gigantic will on which he prided himself was rather pleasure in the exercise of ingenuity[4]. "Aunque tuviera la sorpresa de encontrarme en el infierno", he said, "no lo podía considerar como una cosa definitiva e irremediable, y mientras alentara, pensaría en buscar recursos para mejorar mi situación[5]."

He who follows the illusion of action for its own sake is doomed to solitude. He has no cause which inspires men to join him. He comes to admire only the showy heroisms; he loses contact with human currents. "Te sobra una cosa: la personalidad! Eres demasiado Aviraneta; no sabes pensar en los demás... Detrás de ti no irá nunca nadie[6]." Ortega y Gasset suggests that Baroja himself, in his thirst for the

1. Madrid, 1919.
2. *La dama errante*, Madrid, 1908; *La ciudad de la niebla*, Madrid, 1909. This tendency is as strong as ever in Baroja's last book, *El gran torbellino del mundo*, Madrid, 1926.
3. *El aprendiz de conspirador*, Madrid, 1913, p. 12.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 203.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 203.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

heroic, is somewhat indifferent to the life of the race [1]. It is significant that Baroja denies that he is a disciple of the great Galdós saying, " Era indubablemente un novelista hábil y fecundo, pero no un gran hombre. No había en él la más ligera posibilidad de heroismo [2]. "

This, then, is the fate of the will in the thought of Pío Baroja. The force directed in Ganivet to the unfolding of the noblest that Nature has dreamed for man, in Unamuno to the spirit's realisation of its profoundest desire, is to Baroja the only impulse to struggle for life, flooding the universe, submerging society, harnassed at last by the wistful individual into action which has no end except the desire for an end.

In Azorín appears more starkly than in the other individualists the dreary philosophical background of the end of the century. It was overlaid by idealism in Ganivet, by spiritual aspiration in Unamuno, and in Baroja by a passion for action which revealed itself to him first as man's natural participation in a world of struggle, and afterwards as a means of escaping the importunities of thought. *Azorín* has not even this recourse. In him, furthermore, the power of philosophy is reinforced by the fact that he, far more than the others, lives his real life in books, and has developed a curious dualism of thinking and then finding his thought in some writer of the past : his nihilism in Montaigne [3] or Leopardi [4], his concern over the decadence of Spain in Gracián, Fajardo, Cadalso, Jovellanos, or, most of all, in Larra [5]. He, more than anyone else in his generation has

1. *El espectador*, vol. II, p. 149.
2. *Divagaciones de autocritica*, p. 51.
3. *La voluntad*, Madrid, 1919, p. 152.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
5. See below, p. 640.

called up the Spanish past, moment for moment, detail for detail, to justify or accuse the present. *El alma castellana* is quite different from the generalisations of Ganivet and Unamuno; it is a highly documented evocation of the Spanish sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in all their detail of domestic or picaresque life, love, literature, and religion [1]. Ortega y Gasset has well shown how his interest in the detail, in the commonplace of life, leads him away from the unique and heroic to the qualities in the individual or people that recur from age to age [2]. "Vivir es ver volver", says *Azorín*, and it is easy to see why he is haunted by the Nietzschean doctrine of the eternal recurrence [3].

Most of *Azorín's* contribution to the literature of the will is found in the series of novels : *La voluntad*, *Antonio Azorín*, and *Las confesiones de un pequeño filósofo*, which form a detailed study of the *abulia* characteristic of the youth of *Azorín's* own time and type, an *abulia* quite different from the general complaint characterized by *idées fixes* and violent, uncoordinated action which Ganivet had described in the *Idearium español*, an *abulia* less purely Spanish, of less exaltation and more depression, most of all, an *abulia* proceeding from en excess of rather than a lack of thought.

One fact about the course of Spanish will, both individual and national, seems to have impressed itself upon *Azorín* from the first : its tendency to anticlimax. He tells how the building of the great church of Yecla, the *pueblo* of his hero, was undertaken by the town with an enthusiasm which fell, flickered, and died, how none of its great public works were ever concluded. "Esto indica que en el pueblo yeclano hay un comienzo de voluntad, una iniciación de energía, que se agota rápidamente, que acaba en cansancio

1. *El alma castellana*, Madrid, 1919.
2. *El espectador*, vol. II, p. 125.
3. *La voluntad*, pp. 33, 212-214.

invencible[1] ". *Azorín*, like so many others, feels in the violent contrasts of the Spanish landscape[2], in the disposition of the Spanish *pueblo* the medium for the development of powerful, anarchic wills[3], but wills that fail strangely in the end. " No sentís una profunda atracción hacia estas voluntades que se han roto súbitamente[4]? " " Yo ", says Don Rafael in *La ruta de Don Quijote*, " estoy un poco echado a perder! "... " Y no hay melancolía en sus palabras; hay una indiferencia, una resignación, un abandono[5]. " " ¿ Que hay en esta patria del buen Caballero de la Triste Figura que así rompe en un punto, a lo mejor de la carrera, las voluntades mas enhiestas[6] ? " The answer is in a thousand details of Spanish town and country life which only *Azorín* knows how to evoke in all their pettiness, monotony, gloom. His hero is the logical product of the Spanish *pueblo*. " Es un hombre *sin acabar*, cosa nada rara en este pueblo... En otro medio, en Oxford, en New York, en Barcelona siquiera, Azorín hubiera sido un hermoso ejemplar humano, en que la inteligencia estaría en perfecto acuerdo con la voluntad; aquí, en cambio, la falta de la voluntad ha acabado por arruinar la inteligencia[7]. " It is indirectly the influence of his *pueblo* that comes to *Azorín* through his master Yuste. " Yuste era también un hombre frustrado; teníaœ una gran inteligencia, una pintoresca originalidad, pero le faltaba la continuidad en el esfuerzo, y por eso no pudo nunca hacer ningún trabajo largo, ninguna obra duradera[8]. "

What was the history of the spirit of Antonio Azorín ?

1. *La voluntad*, p. 301.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
3. *La ruta de Don Quijote*, Madrid, 1919, p. 53.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
7. *La voluntad*, p. 302.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 302.

Its resistance was lowered from the beginning by the gloom of a Spanish *pueblo*. " Si yo tuviera que hacer el resumen de mis sensaciones de niño en estos pueblos opacos y sórdidos ", says *Azorín*... " escribiría sencillamente los siguientes corolarios :

> Es ya tarde !
> ¿ Que le vamos a hacer ?
> Ahora se tenía que morir [1] !

words which indicate " la resignación, el dolor, la sumisión, la inercia ante los hechos, la idea abrumadora de la muerte ", products of a long struggle with barren soil [2], and of a religion which creates an atmosphere of gloom with its black-robed penitents and tolling bells [3], an atmosphere of sighs, sobs, gestures of resignation that prostrate and make an active, fruitful life impossible [4].

As a child Antonio Azorín felt this melancholy among the *escolapios* from the moment he entered their school [5], he was wearied by the learning of lessons which were nothing but words [6], and wherever he went he heard the phrase. " Ya es tarde. " " Yo os digo que esta idea de que siempre es tarde, es la idea fundamental de mi vida... Y si yo miro hacia atrás, veo que a ella le debo esta ansia inexplicable, este apresuramiento por algo que no conozco, esta febrilidad, este desasosiego, esta preocupación tremenda y abrumadora por el interminable sucederse de las cosas a través de los tiempos [7]. "

Then Yuste becomes Azorín's master. Yuste is a disciple

1. *Las confesiones de un pequeño filósofo*, Madrid, 1920, p. 155.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 156.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
4. *Antonio Azorín*, Madrid, 1920, p. 244.
5. *Confesiones de un pequeño filósofo*, p. 60.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

of Schopenhauer [1]; he presents to his disciple a picture of all the miseries, all the insanities, all the cowardices of humanity [2], yet he admits that even these have no reality. " La sensación crea la conciencia; la conciencia crea el mundo; ... el error y la verdad son indiferentes [3]. "

Montaigne becomes his master in letters. He is charmed by the master's originality, by his frank enjoyment of his *yo*, he thinks of individuality as the highest manifestation of life, but in a moment he is chilled. He remembers that originality is the last thing that the vulgar will pardon, the last thing that his *pueblo* will pardon, the last thing that will help him arrive anywhere in life [4]. Suddenly he realizes that the scepticism of Montaigne is nihilism, though ever so smiling, and he puts down the book, and turns to Yuste, " que era como salir de un hoyo para caer en una fosa [5] ".

For Yuste is all too human. Yesterday he said that society could be bettered only by force [6]. Today, in a milder humor, and fortified by Plato and Tolstoy, he declares for non-resistance, and Azorín is indescribably hurt and perplexed [7]. " No puedo afirmar nada sobre la realidad del universo ", says Yuste as he dies. To be strong is to live for one's self, the only thing of which one can be sure [8]. " El arte es triste. El arte sintetiza el desencanto del esfuerzo baldío... o el más terrible desencanto del esfuerzo realizado—del deseo satisfecho [9]. " His last words are :

1. *La voluntad*, p. 29.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 160.

" Ah, la inteligencia es el mal! Comprender es entristecerse; observar es sentirse vivir... y sentirse vivir es sentir la muerte, es sentir la inexorable marcha de todo nuestro ser y de las cosas que nos rodean hacia el Océano misterioso de la Nada [1]. " The old cry of the pueblo : " Ya es tarde! Ahora se tenía que morir! "

Azorín is alone. The church has claimed his *novia ;* Yuste is dead. He thinks of himself as his only reliance [2]. He guards fearfully the integrity of his personality as his greatest treasure, but he cannot see that it exists for any end. " El mar vive, se agita, se atormenta perdurablemente sin objeto. Nosotros también [3]. " He admits with Nietzsche that the great thing is to be strong, " sólo que la energía es algo que no se puede lograr a voluntad [4] ". He cannot go in thought beyond himself. Perhaps, in time, the sum of the infinitesimal reactions that the individual can exert against his environment may produce a superior type of man. " Pero eso nosotros no lo veremos, no lo sentiremos, y lo que a mí me importa es mi propio yo, que es el Único como decía Max Stirner [5]... " " Además, el progreso es una colosal inmoralidad, porque consiste en el bienestar de unas generaciones a costa del trabajo y del sacrificio de los anteriores [6]. " After all, why the incessant effort ? Is action intrinsically better than repose [7] ? " Los frailes ", says Azorín, " son hombres que desprecian la voluntad, esa voluntad que yo no puedo despreciar... porque no la tengo. No deseo tenerla tampoco [8]. " As for immortality, can

1. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 203.
3. *Antonio Azorín*, p. 150.
4. *La voluntad*, p. 214.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 214.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 222.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 266.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 267.

anything be more absurd than the impulse to pass on life to creatures doomed to suffer forever from desire satisfied or unsatisfied[1] ? " Lo humano, lo justo sería acabar el dolor acabando la especie[2]. "

To this point comes the predominance of the *hombre-reflexión* over the *hombre-voluntad,* of analysis over action[3]. Yet the idea of will has an attraction for Azorín that he cannot resist. It leads him to marry a woman who has boundless energy but nothing else, and to pass the rest of his life in unutterable frowsiness, moving feebly according to her will[4]. After all, he thinks, it is the same in the end. Those who have an overflow of energy take more than their share out of the fixed quantity in the universe, leaving just so much less for the others[5]. " Nada se puede conseguir por un lado que no se pierda por otro. " If the Lord grants Don Pablo's prayer for more health, He must do it by taking a little away from someone else[6].

Antonio Azorín is indeed, as announced, full of "·esfuerzos sueltos, iniciaciones paralizadas, audacias frustradas, paradojas, gestos, gritos[7] ". It presents another spectacle of *fracaso* in Verdu[8]. " Lo mejor es no pensar en nada ", thinks Azorín[9], and he reaches the same state of detachment as his friend, Sarrio, " uno por indiferencia reflexiva, otro por impasibilidad congénita ". The conclusion is always the same : " El pesimismo y el optimismo son igualmente verdaderos y igualmente falsos. En el fondo, lo innegable es

1. *La voluntad,* p. 222.
2. *Ibid.,* p. 273.
3. *Ibid.,* p. 265.
4. *Ibid.,* pp. 165, 287-307.
5. *Ibid.,* p. 166.
6. *Doña Inés,* Madrid, 1925, p. 175.
7. *La voluntad,* p. 307.
8. *Antonio Azorín,* pp. 93-104.
9. *Ibid.,* p. 72.

que la Naturaleza es ciega e indiferente al dolor y al placer [1]. " Don Victor, who conceives for his walking stick an affection that gives him at least the illusion of a center for his life is in the right [2].

The bitterness of the philosophies grows somewhat milder with the years. One learns to occupy one's thoughts with innocuous detail, one makes a virtue out of what was once a weakness. Don Pablo, of *Doña Inés*, *Azorín's* last hero of inaction, is now and then seized by the thought that life should be energetic, but he has been a long time building up for himself a defense of meditation and " goce suave de las cosas ", and to the world he says : " Los hombres de acción, si tuvieran sensibilidad, no serían hombres de acción. No podrían hacer nada. La sensibilidad es el disolvente de la acción [3]. "

The work of *Azorín* from *El alma castellana* to *Doña Inés* never ceases to concern itself with the individuality of Spain. That concern is what has unified the literary production of *Azorín*, who has been successively radical, republican, anarchist, conservative [4], but always a Spaniard. The sufferings of his hero proceed equally from the fact that he is a thoughtful child of his time, and that he lives in Spain, and love and sorrow are inextricably intermingled in *Azorín's* feeling for his native land [5]. He has only very occasionally a note of hope : perhaps the old Spanish energy may return [6]; perhaps there may be some way of bringing back life and

1. *Antonio Azorín*, p. 161.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
3. *Doña Inés*, p. 156.
4. Mas y Pi, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
5. A very fine interpretation of his spirit is to be found in Antonio Machado, *Al maestro Azorín por su libro Castilla*, *op.cit.*, pp. 186-187. See also Pérez de Ayala, *Epístola a Azorín*, *El sendero andante*, Madrid, 1921, p. 51.
6. *Un pueblecito, Riofrío de Avila*, Madrid, 1916, p. 42.

joy to those *pueblos* which he visits so often, where all is now melancholy and resignation[1]. However he depicts for the most part what he sees, and he sees darkly. He feels in the Spanish landscape the ironic spirit of Quevedo[2]; he analyzes minutely the opinions on the decadence of Spain of Gracián[3], of Saavedra Fajardo[4], of Cadalso[5], of Feijóo[6], of Larra[7], of Pi y Margall[8], of Costa[9], of Ramón y Cajal[10], even of Eugenio Noel[11]. He reserves his greatest love and reverence for Larra. But he knows that although he and Larra can mourn together over Spain there is a great gulf between them. He makes Olaiz say on the day of the ceremony at Larra's grave : " Yo veo en toda esta gente cierto lirismo, cierto ímpetu hacia un ideal... que ahora no tenemos. Y por eso nosotros... al ir a celebrar la memoria de Larra, damos un espectáculo extraño, discordante del medio en que vivimos[12]. " Here is the turbulence, the fever, the unrest, but without the ideal.

In the nihilism of Azorín the pessimism of his epoch reaches its extreme. He has not, like Ganivet and Unamuno, the philosophic genius which evolves from the systems by which it is confronted a creation of its own[13]. He can only accept what he finds, and place at its service an art, exquisite, but all too fragile to conceal the abyss.

1. *Antonio Azorín*, p. 246.
2. *Fantasías y devaneos*, Madrid, 1920, p. 206.
3. *Lecturas españolas*, pp. 85-100.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-56.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-100.
6. *Los valores literarios*, pp. 109-114.
7. *Lecturas españolas*, pp. 176-187. Also *Rivas y Larra*, Madrid, 1916.
8. *Lecturas españolas*, pp. 189-197.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 199-204; also *Fantasías y devaneos*, pp. 71-80.
10. *Los valores literarios*, pp. 69-74.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 231-235.
12. *La voluntad*, p. 237.
13. Madariaga, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-228, has a note on this point.

The work of *Azorín* was too perfect an expression of the spiritual atmosphere of his time to fail of its influence. It reinforced the melancholy sense of the futility of thought. Juan Ramón Jiménez was deeply moved by the heaviness in *Antonio Azorín*: "... porque de esa maldita tristeza española, de esa melancolía de nuestra raza... a mí me ha correspondido una buena parte, a mí que he nacido en uno de esos pueblos tan opacos, tan sedentarios, tan melancólicos... he pensado con seriedad en abrir mis puertas y dejar entrar el sol, en salir, en viajar, en gritar, en correr, en comer grandes trozos de carne... pero esto no lo haremos los españoles[1] ". It was natural that ideologies should suffer. The meditations of Antonio Azorín in the Toledo café, says Cansinos Assens, had an enormous resonance in the next generation; " de aquí se originará el dandysmo literario, la orientación exclusivamenta estética que tiene su más firme representante en Valle Inclán, y esa actitud de completa inhibición para las ideas que adopta todo un haz de escritores[2] ". There is a certain element in Spain—augmented in this period by the satanists—which is always ready to be scornful about the preaching of the will, and when Manuel Machado, who calls himself half gypsy and half Parisian[3], steeped in atmospheres which recognize

le châtiment
D'avoir voulu changer de place[4]

writes such lines as

Yo no he visto más que tontos
Que tienen voluntad

1. *Helios*, 1903, p. 497.
2. *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 105.
3. *Retrato. Poesías*, Berlin-Madrid, 1924, p. 107.
4. *Baudelaire, les Hiboux, les Fleurs du mal*, Paris, S. A., p. 72.

half young Spain adores him and learns *Adelfos* by heart. It is significant, however, that most of the poets concerned in the Galician-Portuguese and Castilian poetic revivals [1] think of the life of action rather with wistfulness than scorn.

> Amo andanzas, combates, aventuras;
> pero soy hombre débil y pequeño...
> . . . . . .
> y languidezco en mi rincón de olvido,
> y engarzo en él, paciente, verso y verso,
> sin azares que me hayan conducido
> por la diversidad del Universo [2].

It is noteworthy, too, that Valle Inclán was attracted from *dandysmo* to the depiction of the hero of gigantic will. His early work is plunged in a heavy atmosphere of fatalism, as in *Jardín umbrío* [3], and the Marqués de Bradomín, first appearing in *Sonata de Otoño* [4], has something of the air of a degenerate, but he gains in virility until with the *Sonata de invierno* he becomes a Carlist chief, fighting and bleeding heroically. His cause is the illusion by which he lives; his device is " Viva la bagatela [5]! "; his solution is very near to Aviraneta's. In the *Comedias bárbaras* the Marqués gives way to Don Juan Manuel, more brutally erotic than the Marqués, a turbulent child of Nature, whose will rebels against the trammels of his time. " Si a mí me hubieran dado diez mujeres, habría sido como un patriarca ", he says [6]. There is hardly to be found in all modern literature a more stupendous struggle than that between him and his evil sons, who have wills second only to his own [7]. *La guerra*

1. Mas y Pi, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-206.
2. Diez-Canedo, *La visita del sol*, Madrid, 1907, pp. 86-87.
3. Madrid, 1903.
4. Madrid, 1902.
5. *Sonata de invierno*, Madrid, 1905, p. 237.
6. *Romance de lobos*, Madrid, 1908, p. 68.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 263-268.

carlista continues to utilize the theatre which Valle Inclán has chosen as most suitable for the exercise of the imperious wills revived perhaps in the same spirit with which he revives ruined palaces, but with increasing power.

I have noted that the writers characterized as individualists were nationalists as well. They were always conscious of the individuality of Spain. They studied her past, wrote of her present, steeped themselves in her spirit. They were the greatest literary figures during a period of frantic attempt at regeneration, yet it is significant that the will failed in all of them to become a regenerative factor, for their conception of it led them to mysticism or negation, and turned them in the one way or the other in upon themselves. Although the influence of Nietzsche was strong in all of them the pessimism of Schopenhauer prevailed in the end[1]. There are plenty of ungovernable children of Nature, but no supermen after Pío Cid, and no one but Unamuno made an affirmation from the eternal suffering of desire[2]. The individualists, never escaping from the melancholy of the Spanish spirit, yielded to their inheritance of mysticism and fatalism, drew from the philosophies of their time the elements which fed it, and turned their backs upon a reality which they saw no way to conquer[3].

1. The close spiritual relation between Schopenhauer and certain Spanish writers is discussed in *Nuestro Tiempo*, 1923, vol. I, p. 104. The resentment of the spirits led by Schopenhauer into pessimism is expressed by Emilio Carrere in Schopenhauer, *Los ojos de los fantasmas*, Madrid, S. A., p. 57.

2. For Unamuno's agreement with the ideas of Nietzsche in spite of his denial of all influence see Julian Sorel, *Los hombres de '98, Unamuno*, Madrid, 1917, pp. 43-51; Unamuno, *Contra esto y aquello*, Madrid, 1912, p. 133; *El sentimiento trágico de la vida*, p. 229.

3. Disappointment in the accomplishment of the Generation of 1898 is expressed by López Barrera, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13; Diez Canedo, *Conversaciones literarias*, p. 108; Alcalá Galiano, *Conferencias y ensayos*, Madrid, 1919, p. 69, note; José Gutierrez Solana, *Madrid Callejero*, Madrid, 1923, p. x, etc.

CHAPTER IV

The younger generation. La voluntad as purposive energy.

Ortega y Gasset, Maeztu, D'Ors, Ramón y Cajal.

Contemporary Spanish literature has recorded two sentimental ceremonies : one the gathering of the generation of 1898 at the tomb of Larra [1], the other a tribute of five minute's silence given by the younger generation to the memory of Mallarmé [2]. The two ceremonies are indicative of the spirit in the two generations, nationalism and negation in the one, and in the other internationalism and a certain mellowing of the spirit whose motto may well be the words of its undisputed leader, Ortega y Gasset : " Para nosotros lo humano corre peligro de limitarse en los confines de lo español, y lo español, a su vez, se expone a perder todo su sentido si no lo consideramos como un gesto peculiar de lo humano. El *yo* no adquiere su perfil genuino sin un *tú* que lo limite y un *nosotros* que lo sirva de fondo [3]. "

In this group is seen the final flowering of the struggle for the europeanization of Spain. The European contact which was a philosophy all through the end of the century and a war cry after 1898, has become in them a fact. They were brought up in the atmosphere created by Giner de los Ríos [4], they studied and travelled abroad, they returned

1. *Azorín, La voluntad*, pp. 237-243, Also Antonio Espina, *Revista de Occidente*, vol. II, p. 404.
2. Eugenio d'Ors, *Cinco minutos de silencio*, Valencia, 1925, pp. 9-17.
3. *Personas, obras, cosas*, Madrid 1916, p. 268.
4. *Ingegnieros, op. cit.*, p. 213.

to Spain spiritual critizens of other countries to spread foreign culture and preach foreign ideals, among others, certain doctrines concerning the will which derived as much from admiration of foreign success as from philosophy. For them the will ceased to be overwhelming desire and became a means by which they could attain a convenient end The will had overawed the individualists; the younger generation made it their tool. They learned in Europe of the final refuge of the " faustian soul ", the purpose which comes into being when the soul, no longer able to endure the boundless surging of desire, seeks the relief which we already know as limitation, and, having found it, proceeds to idealize it as work or culture or science, and rests outwardly content, having exchanged the view of the bird for that of the frog [1], though there persists deep down somewhere a feeling that all this concentration is only the desperate illusion of a soul " die nicht ruhen darf und kann [2] ".

The idealization of culture, work, science and the use of the will as instrument in their attainment is the essential in the thought of the group of writers with cosmopolitan interests whom I have designated as the younger generation. They form a wedge between the characteristically Spanish treatment of the will as seen in the individualists and in the pantheists, notably Pérez de Ayala, with whom this study will close. It is difficult to estimate their importance, to say whether so foreign a gospel as that of purposive energy will ever be able to take deep root in Spain.

José Ortega y Gasset early broke away from the " torrid zone " of Nietzsche [3] and expressed his reaction against

1. Spengler, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 450.
2. Ibid., p. 463.
3. *Personas, obras, cosas*, p. 49. For the origin of the philosophy of his group see Ingegnieros, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

individualism with a violence which he later felt forced to retract [1]. " El *yo*, la terrible cosa del *yo* ", he wrote, " en lugar de *yo* escribiría siempre *nosotros* [2]. " He considered subjectivism the most dangerous disease of the twentieth century, fatal in Spain [3]. The subjective is incompatible with actual living; only when life is empty can one retire to examine one's spirit. " Vivir y sentirse vivir son dos cosas incompatibles [4]. " By way of the objective one finds God. " En tanto no llegamos a Dios, y diluyéndonos en él perdemos la secreta lepra de la subjetividad, del *yo* individual, vivimos en una atmósfera de error [5]. "

The escape from the isolation and error of subjectivism is found in love, which identifies itself with the object of its love, senses the potential perfection of that object, lives to realize it [6], and linking itself successively to the loved one, then to what is necessary to the loved one, folds more and more of the universe into its spirit [7], with what Plato calls the passion of synthesis [8]. On the contrary, " la inconexión es el aniquilamiento. El odio que fabrica inconexión, que aisla y desliga, atoniza el orbe y pulveriza la individualidad [9] ". Envy, hatred, isolation, Ortega felt ever present in Spain. Very telling is the *Deseo* with which he heads one of his chapters :

> Un país donde la envidia, ya que viva, siquiera que no reine;
> Que país es ése ?
> No lo sé. Pero sí sé qué país es menos ése [10].

1. *Personas, obras, cosas*, p. 63.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
3. *Ibid.*, p. VI.
4. *El Espectador*, vol. I, p. 158.
5. *Personas, obras, cosas*, p. 63.
6. *Meditaciones del Quijote*, Madrid, 1914, p. 14.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
10. *El Espectador*, vol. II, p. 28.

This philosophy is back of Ortega's passion for culture, which is for him a reaching to and understanding of the objective, a flight from the mists of subjectivism[1]. " He aquí porque es preciso la cultura del amor. Toda cultura consiste en la resolución de contradicciones[2]. " The greatest problem of Spanish culture is first of all to feel Spain as a contradiction[3]. The values of life exist completely apart from our subjectivity[4] and the business of culture is to understand them, to reconcile them, and to establish the norms which are the product of collective, not subjective, life[5], which are " lugar de apoyo para las vacilaciones individuales—una tierra firme para el espíritu[6] ", upon which all progress depends, for an impressionistic culture, however full of great figures, means that each man has to begin at the beginning. This is the story of Spain. " Goya es Adán, un primer hombre[7]. " " Cultura... es lo firme frente a lo vacilante, es lo fijo frente a lo huidero, es lo claro frente a lo obscuro[8] ", and the clear concept, the assured possession is European, but not Spanish[9]; the *Quijote*, great book that it is, has no determinable ideology[10]. In Ortega's thinking the idea gains upon the will. " Un hombre tenaz, animado por una idea claramente concebida y expresada, triunfa siempre, aunque luche contra él la sociedad entera ", had

1. An interesting impressionistic view of Ortega is found in Pérez de Ayala, *Troteras y danzaderas*, Madrid, 1913, p. 141, where he is quoted as saying that Spain will be saved on the day when nine Spaniards are capable of reading Plato's *Symposium* in the original.
2. *El Espectador*, vol. II, p. 41.
3. *Meditaciones del Quijote*, p. 118.
4. *¿Que son los valores?*, *Revista de Occidente*, vol. II, p. 58.
5. *Personas, obras, cosas*, p. 96.
6. *Meditaciones del Quijote*, p. 114.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

written Ganivet [1]. " Una idea fuerte administrada por hombres débiles y modestos puede más que un genio sin idealidad ", wrote Ortega y Gasset [2].

I have mentioned Ortega's repentance over his mistake in fighting indiscriminately subjectivism and the *yo*. Without retreating from his position against subjectivism, he came to stress the need of cultivating harmony of personality in a manner reminiscent of Ganivet [3]. He considered the want of consistency in the Spanish spirit as fatal as its indocility to the norms which constitute culture. " Somos un pueblo moralmente enfermo : vive el español de momento a momento sin solidaridad consigo mismo, y empuja su alma atomizada, pulverizada, como un vendaval la arenilla del desierto [4]. " To attain fidelity to oneself a comparison of one's own past and present is as necessary as the comparison of one's own life with the lives of other men and other ages [5]. The Kantian notion of developing either man or society according to what it *ought to be* is *ética mágica* [6]. There is no truth beyond the maxim of Pindar : " Llega a ser lo que eres [7]. " Ortega's conception of objective culture and harmony of personality are combined in his definition of classicism which is, he says, " el lujo del hombre fuerte que se posee a sí mismo y somete a un cauce de normas la fluencia excesiva de su energía [8] ".

The submission of the individual will to culture is what

1. *Los trabajos del infatigable creador, Pío Cid*, vol. II, p. 180.
2. *Personas, obras, cosas*, p. 96.
3. For his unfavorable opinion of Ganivet see *Algunas notas, Faro*, August 9, 1908, p. 308.
4. *El Espectador*, vol. II, p. 89, note.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
6. *España invertebrada*, Madrid, 1921, p. 121.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 128. See also Manuel Morente, *El tema de nuestro tiempo. Revista de Occidente*, vol. II, p. 216.
8. *Personas, obras, cosas*, p. 102. See also, p. 96.

assures the gradual perfection of the race. If each man obeys the impulse to shape his words and actions after the noblest pattern offered him, if he is *docile* in the face of true superiority [1], he gives to society the highest reason for existence, its ennoblement through assimilation to its finest elements [2], " este eterno instrumento de una voluntad que opera selectivamente. Usando de ella como de un cincel es preciso forjar un nuevo tipo de hombre español [3] ". But the tragedy of Spanish history lies in the fact that the mass has steadfastly refused to subject itself to this gentle rule [4], hence there is no ascent in culture, and one's constant impression in Spain is that one is among peasants [5]. The country has, like Russia, an art marvellous in its popular manifestations, poor in the personal and erudite—ever poorer [6]. " Mi vida ha coincidido con el proceso de conquista de las clases por los modales chulescos ", says Ortega, " lo cual indica que no ha elegido uno la mejor época para nacer [7]. "

I have dwelt upon Ortega's view of the nature and purpose of culture because it is the central fact in his ideology and the nature of his influence, because it is clearly indicative of the break with individualism which marks his group, and because without an acquaintance with it his ideas on national volitions would be disconcerting. For his ideal of progressive culture leads him to the conception which we have been associating with *Kultur* for the last twelve years, and he steps forth as an apostle of force, proclaiming " la

1. *España invertebrada*, pp. 132-133.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 134, 137.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 169-170.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 166.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
7. *El Espectador*, vol. II, p. 20; see also pp. 74, 107.

única receta para vivir, el combate[1] ". This is not altogether out of harmony with the rest of his thought. His ideal is always contact, expansion; and contact need not imply sympathy. " Nada se parece tanto al abrazo como el combate cuerpo a cuerpo[2] ", and aggression is Nature's outlet for the individual who has the instinct to impose his characteristics on others[3], while he himself absorbs and develops as a result of his aggressions[4].

Furthermore, the nation, like the individual, must have some purpose beyond its own realisation. The family is the only social unit which is its own justification for being. To members of the state cohesion becomes natural only with the existence of some common project : " No conviven *por estar* juntos, sino *para hacer* juntos algo[5] ", and the most natural direction of activity is towards the outside world. " La voluntad Estado ejerce su más genuina misión cuando se impone a la tendencia repulsiva de razas diversas, obligándolas a convivir y a colaborar en una vida superior integral[6] ", that is, when, through imposition and fusion it dissolves successive contradictions and creates a higher culture. When this process of integration stops the nation degenerates[7], its parts separate, isolate themselves, and each one resumes its independent life[8]. Spain was incorporative until the reign of Philip II, but her subsequent history has been one of dispersion and decadence[9]. Now no one element lives for any other; there is no union of a

1. *El Espectador*, vol. II, p. 115.
2. *España invertebrada*, p. 77. Unamuno had expressed the same thought in *El sentimiento trágico de la vida*, pp. 113-114.
3. *Personas, obras, cosas*, p. 84.
4. *El Espectador*, vol. II, p. 137.
5. *España invertebrada*, p. 25.
6. *El Espectador*, vol. II, p. 180.
7. *España invertebrada*, p. 48.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

common purpose, and Spaniards rightly ask themselves : " ¿ Para qué vivimos juntos[1] ? "

This dynamic conception of life, this recognition of the individual's desire to leave his stamp upon the outside world is fundamental in Ortega's conception of individual and national will. To him, vitality is the power to create purpose[2], the purpose which the spirit evolves not from biological or racial needs, but as its conception of the most perfect expression of its essential nature. The noble spirit creates desires explicable only to itself; its tragic conflicts do not come from fate, it desires them with a desire incomprehensible to the great mass, which cannot but consider them roles arbitrarily adopted[3]. This function of the will is peculiar to the modern world. Achilles makes the epic; Don Quijote desires it[4].

No discussion of Ortega's ideas gives an adequate idea of his influence. He, more than any one person, has labored to give the Spaniard the intellectual solidarity obtainable through European culture. He has translated, adapted, interpreted, and one of the two purely literary magazines which Spain at present can boast, the *Revista de Occidente*, with its supplementary publications directed to the dissemination of European thought, is his enterprise. He is the inspiration of a whole group of young writers[5],—more valuable perhaps as a stimulus than as a philosopher, for he is much influenced by his reading and is not always consistent[6]. He considers that he has escaped from the

1. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
3. *Meditaciones del Quijote*, pp. 181-182.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
5. Among these are Pedro Salinas, Alfonso Reyes, José Bergamín, Manuel Morente.
6. See Gómez de Baquero, *El renacimiento de la novela en el siglo XIX*, for a remark on this point.

influence of Nietzsche, but when he adds to his doctrine of docility the doctrine of forced imposition it seems clear that the escape is not complete; and he effects no complete reconciliation between the doctrine of imposition and the ideal of " Llega a ser lo que eres ". However, his break with individualism is clear, and it is clear that he has a new conception of the will. It is with him no longer an expression of blind desire; it is the capacity to conceive and carry out a purpose, and a purpose directed outward, so that individual and nation, whether on the aggressive or defensive, draw their lives from the rest of the world.

The history of Ramiro de Maeztu, like that of Ortega y Gasset, contains a reaction against Stirner and Nietzsche [1], but in a different direction. Ortega, inspired by Germany, aspires to check the individual will through standards imposed by culture; Maeztu, inspired by England, would subject it to the frigid morality of utilitarianism, a morality which seeks complete escape from subjectivism by valuing only the thing, the end, to which the individual is only a very humble means. " God has given man a will, not as an end in itself, but to enable him to compel Nature, who has no will, to serve the good as far as possible [2]. "

We have seen that Ortega recovered somewhat from his horror of the *yo*. It is still Maeztu's main point of attack. To him the consciousness of personality is the basis of all the sins [3], of which the two greatest are pride and lust, its direct results [4]. The Middle Ages wisely suspected it; they realized that it was a breaking down of a sacred whole, an

1. Cansinos Assens, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 62.
2. *Authority, Liberty and Function in the Light of the War*, New York, 1916, p. 43.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

isolation, an imperfection [1]; but the Renaissance exalted it [2], Descartes gave it supreme importance [3], Stirner and Nietzsche added to the illusion already grown gigantic through romanticism [4], and man strides to imminent ruin, only detained by a neglected classicism which has tried to teach the service of absolute values [5]. Unless man interprets personality as his limitation instead of his glory, and learns from it the one great lesson of humility, he is lost [6].

The Renaissance discovery of personality led to the mistaken thing that we call the nation. The members of the guilds abandoned their allegiance to develop their individualities; and in the absence of the corporations, which had been an ideal basis for society, the state became a desperate expedient to prevent complete anarchy [7], and its long apotheosis, the special work of German philosophy, culminated in 1914 [8]. Maeztu thus declares war on both individualism and nationalism.

The primacy of things, he says, must teach the personality to scorn its pretensions, to recognize its purely instrumental value [9], to sacrifice itself as personality wherever as functionary it has anything to gain [10]. "To all those who have made the good things that exist upon the earth there once arrived an hour in which a thing took possession of them, and in which they began to live for it alone—not for the glory, not for the success, but for the thing. And when the thing

1. *Del espíritu de los vascos*, Bilbao, 1920, p. 45.
2. *Authority, Liberty and Function*, p. 16.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 187.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
6. *Del espíritu de los vascos*, p. 46.
7. *Authority, Liberty and Function*, pp. 23-24.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 255.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 268.

is good it projects upon the individual who did it that special nimbus which constitutes the dignity of man[1]. " The supreme values are moral satisfaction, scientific discovery, and artistic creation[2]· every society should orient itself towards them, knowing that the principle of function is a better social basis than the principles of authority and liberty, because it has a quality independent of the wills of men[3].

In his most recent book, *Don Quijote, Don Juan, y la Celestina*, Mazstu bends to his moral system the three great figures of Spanish literature, in accordance with his theory that it is beyond the human imagination to conceive of an interesting person or situation which does not constitute a moral problem[4]. In the *Quijote* he saw a book written by a tired man who had found the world too much for his enthusiasms[5], written for a country so exhausted by gigantic enterprise that its greatest necessity was to be told to cease from Quixotic activity[6] (since for Maeztu any endeavor which could not be productive would be a disaster). In Don Juan he saw a powerful personality, dignified only by its perfect equilibrium of lust and pride[7], " una voluntad que nada quiere fuera del inmediato antojo; un esfuerzo sin finalidad, heroico por el temperamento y nirvánico por la falta de principio[8] ", a tremendous energy in the hands of an unfaithful steward. Finally, in the Celestina he saw the saint of hedonism, whose arguments were deplorably convincing because she herself could not distinguish between pleasure and moral good[9].

1. *Authority, Liberty and Function*, p. 53.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 274.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 267.
4. *Don Quijote, Don Juan y la Celestina*, Madrid, 1926, p. 19.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
8. *Ibid.*, Madrid, 1926, p. 178.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 243-244.

Pérez de Ayala has depicted in *Troteras y danzaderas* the average Spanish reaction to this foreign philosophy by reporting the comment upon a lecture given by Maeztu (Mazorral) in the Ateneo. " Mazorral ha olvidado ", says one *ateneísta*, " que el genio tutelar del Ateneo es el gato, y que la filosofía del gato vale más que todas las filosofías. Ella nos enseña a ser perezosos, voluptuosos y elegantes[1]. " " Bondad y trabajo; aconsejar bondad y trabajo ", says another, " aconsejar *sed buenos* es lo mismo que aconsejar *sed albinos* o *sed velludos*. Digo mal; es lo mismo que aconsejar *sed inteligentes*[2]. "

In the work of Eugenio d'Ors (Xenius) are combined the tendencies represented by Ortega y Gasset and Maeztu. He is the perfect child of his generation. He is equally removed from individualism and nationalism[3]; he draws from classical culture a noble conception of the harmony of spirit that is to make men one[4]; his scientific training has given him sufficient respect for the gospel of accomplishment to warrant Ingegnieros in listing him as a biological pragmatist[5]. *La bien plantada*, his early work, is a rare and lovely conception of a harmonious character which cannot be isolated by personality or possession, but diffuses its beauty through the universe. This harmony is the work of intelligence. " Haz tu propia vida como la elegante demostración de un teorema matemático ", says the Bien Plantada[6]. A will without intelligence is the disaster of Don Juan Tenorio; to desire, without study, comparison,

1. *Troteras y danzaderas*, p. 262.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 259.
3. *Cinco minutos de silencio*, p. 140.
4. *La bien plantada*, translated by Rafael Marquina, Madrid-Barcelona, 1920, pp. 103-104.
5. *Op. cit.*, p. 191.
6. *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

synthesis of todays and yesterdays is to desire without love [1]. There is something terrifying in the common Spanish use of *querer* to express *amar*. " ¡No saber *amar* sin *querer!* ¡La sensibilidad asumida siempre en la voluntad [2]! "

It has been said that in the development of Eugenio d'Ors is seen the change from the serene pediment of a Greek temple to the pointed spire of a Gothic cathedral, that from being the philosopher of the man who works and plays he has become the philosopher of the man who works [3]. In *La bien plantada* he could wish mankind to give its just due " al ocio exquisito y al sagrado juego [4] ", but in *El nuevo glosario* he reiterates that out of all the complexity of life one thing alone is sure : " la obra bien hecha [5] ". He identifies himself with the Catalan school of energy; he finds Manuel Machado's verses in disparagement of the will " poesía venenosa [6] ". He is tireless. He scours the globe for the material in his *glosarios*, he joins Ortega y Gasset in imparting European culture, especially in the field of art, he is almost bewilderingly cosmopolitan.

Santiago Ramón y Cajal represents the internationalists both in word and in deed. He believes that there is no purpose for which the will may not serve. What we call special talent or even genius is usually nothing but the power to work with more than the usual rapidity or determination, not a qualitative difference [7]. He willed to show the

1. *Diálogos de la pasión meditabunda*, Madrid, 1923, pp. 209-210.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 213.
3. *Revista de Occidente*, vol. II, pp. 123-125.
4. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 104.
5. *Europa* (*El Nuevo Glosario*), Madrid, 1922, p. 178.
6. *Diálogos de la pasión meditabunda*, p. 202.
7. *Reglas y consejos sobre investigación biológica*, Madrid, 1920, p. 42. This book is discussed by *Azorín* in *Los valores literarios*, pp. 69-74. See also *Revista de Occidente*, vol. V, p. 261.

world that the Spanish mind is capable of distinguished scientific achievement; he succeeded [1], and his book, *Reglas y consejos sobre investigación biológica* aims to point the clear way to the attainment of the scientific product which is his end. Writing especially for professionals, he outlines the diseases of the will which threaten their production. He names the *contempladores*, who delight themselves in the observation of Nature, but never name a new species [2]; the *bibliófilos*, who absorb instead of creating [3]; the *megalófilos*, who wait to leap into fame by some astounding discovery [4]; the *proyectistas*, fertile in unfinished plans [5]; the *organófilos*, who never get beyond the worship of their scientific instruments [6]; the *descentrados*, who scatter their energies [7]; and the *teorizantes*, who neglect detailed work for speculation [8]. There is one fairly certain cure for all of these invalids : the inspiration afforded by close acquaintance with foreign methods of research [9].

Foreign inspiration is the remedy for Spain in general. " Pues es fuerza romper el círculo de hierro de nuestro atraso, rompase por el *anillo docente*, único sobre el cual puede obrar directa y ejecutivamente el Estado. Europeizando rápidamente al catedrático, europeizaremos al discípulo y a la nación entera [10]. "

Ramón y Cajal has in the highest degree the purposive conception of the will. It should be directed to discipline,

1. Pascual Santacruz, Review of *Chácharas de café. Nuestro Tiempo*, 1903, vol. III, p. 362.
2. *Reglas y consejos*, pp. 122-124.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 124-126.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-128.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 129-131.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 131-133.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 134-136.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 287.

production. It is always harnessed, never spontaneous, a powerful instrument, but an instrument always. " Hay que vivir ", he says, " no conforme a los impulsos de la naturaleza, según afirmaban los estoicos, sino conforme a las normas de la ciencia y del arte[1]. "

Robinson Crusoe has often been said to personify the Anglo-Saxon spirit as Don Quijote personifies the Spanish [2], and in so far as Don Quijote lived for his illusions and Robinson Crusoe to make definite modifications in the external world, the one may be taken to represent the individualists, and the other the internationalists with the purposive energy and good sense which I have just discussed. Unamuno spoke of the Spanish-American war as a contest between Don Quijote and Robinson Crusoe for the possession of a desert island [3]. It is evident that something of the same struggle is still going on in the heart of Spain.

CHAPTER V

The negation of individual will.

Pérez de Ayala.

Menéndez y Pelayo noted that the Spaniard who ceased to be orthodox became a pantheist [4]. This tendency as seen in Pérez de Ayala is the final step in the development of the ideas surrounding *la voluntad* which I have tried to trace. The will is no longer the master or the servant of the individual, but an inseparable part of the universal

1. *Charlas de café*, Madrid, 1920, p. 168.
2. Ganivet, *Idearium español*, p. 183.
3. Unamuno and Ganivet, *El porvenir de España*, pp. 42-43.
4. *La ciencia española*, pp. 216-217.

energy which is at once himself and his god, so that if desire is eternal he identifies himself with it joyfully, asking only for more and more complete consciousness and identification. " Sintámonos vivir ", is the essence of the thought of Pérez de Ayala [1]. The great man is only the dissipation of energy that nature now and then permits herself in order that the race may truly live, that is, that it may be conscious of its life [2].

Pérez de Ayala arrives at this sensibility from an individualism which learns sympathy through suffering. He, like Unamuno, yearns for immortality, but he resigns it, and passes on to a new philosophy. The stages of his journey away from individualism are marked in the series of autobiographical novels : *Tinieblas en las cumbres. La plata de la raposa. A. M. D. G.*, and *Troteras y danzaderas*, which present the protagonist Alberto Díaz de Guzman. His training in a Jesuit school has given him a disdain for effort [3], a terror of ridicule, and withal a strong sense of superiority [4]. In *Tinieblas en las cumbres* he appears stripped of all illusions but one : the desire for immortality through fame, and losing that as, with his depressing companions [5], he contemplates an eclipse of the sun, and realizes the absurdity of personal desire in the face of the terrific forces of nature [6]. With the loss of this last stronghold of his ego he falls into a state of *abulia*, a condition of utter nervelessness and despair. Like Antonio Azorín he sees no end [7]. He envies the dog

1. *El sendero andante*, p. 102.
2. *Troteras y danzaderas*, p. 176.
3. *A. M. D. G.*, Madrid, 1911, p. 307.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 305.
5. It is worth noting that the picaresque element so prominent in the first novels of Pérez de Ayala is quite in keeping with his character of Spaniard and mystic.
6. *Tinieblas en las cumbres*, Madrid, S. A., p. 362 ff.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 384.

who finds a god in his master [1]. But his spirit has a vitality far beyond that of Antonio Azorín. He is given new life by his love for a woman. His will returns [2]. He realizes that the desperate consciousness of mortality has prostrated many a man, but that the spirit which is strong enough to escape (leaving its individual ambitions in the trap, as the fox leaves its paw), finds itself with new energy for a nobler life, which denies the individual for the universal will [3]. This stage in Alberto's advancement necessitates the sacrifice of the love which has brought him to it—an irony not uncommon in Pérez de Ayala—for his complete submergence of himself, his longing to live the life of the universe, make him identify himself with all of it, and it becomes impossible for him to love one woman more than another [4]. His sweetheart dies of grief, but his development goes on.

The interpenetration of his life with that of others is the theme of *Troteras y danzaderas*. He learns the lesson from Teófilo, whose very inability to attain the virility which he aspires to rouses in him a love for the lowest of created things, and makes him say to them : " Yo os perdono que seáis como sois. Perdonadme que sea como soy, porque la verdad es que yo no tengo la culpa [5]. " He learns most of all from the waif Verónica, who listens to his reading of *Othello*, identifies herself sympathetically with each character in turn, and proceeds from that to a synthetic conception of the tragic conflict of the drama, freeing herself completely from judgments of right and wrong [6], exhibiting the spirit which marks tragedy as opposed to the melodrama which

1. *La pata de la raposa*, Madrid, S. A., p. 51.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 316.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 299.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 326.
5. *Troteras y danzaderas*, p. 20.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

praises and blames[1], the spirit which informs the work of the true genius as opposed to that of smaller men[2]. This comprehension is attained through sensibility, never by intelligence. *Troteras y danzaderas* contains a dialogue between the characters representing the author and Ortega y Gasset which brings out strikingly the difference between the intellectual formalism of the internationalists, and Pérez de Ayala's gospel of sensibility :

Ortega y Gasset : Sí, es necesario colocar bien el problema de la estética. En Alemania se preocupan mucho de estética. ¿ De dónde hace usted arrancar la estética ?

Pérez de Ayala :... Para mi el hecho primario en la actividad estética... es... la confusión (fundirse con) y transfusión (fundirse en) de uno mismo en los demás, y aun en los seres inanimados, y aun en los fenómenos físicos, y aun en los más simples esquemas y figuras geométricas : vivir por entero en la medida de lo posible las emociones ajenas; y a los seres inanimados henchirlos y saturarlos de emoción, *personificarlos.*

Ortega y Gasset : Hay sus más y sus menos; pero en fin, ése es el concepto que domina hoy toda la especulación de la estética laemana, el *einfuhlung.* Se ve que ha leído usted algo acerca de ello.

Pérez de Ayala : No he leído nada.

Ortega y Gasset : ¿ Que no ? Pues, ¿ quién se lo ha enseñado a usted ?

Pérez de Ayala : Hombre, la cosa es tan clara que hace tiempo que yo mismo lo habria descubierto; pero quien me lo ha hecho penetrar más cabalmente ha sido... una prostituta[3].

Por Pérez de Ayala the lack of sensibility is the great problem of Spain. He finds there melodrama instead of tragedy; no imagination, no sympathy, no love, no tole-

1. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
2. *Las máscaras*, vol. I, p. 21.
3. *Troteras y danzaderas*, p. 145.

rance, everyone an absolutist [1]. Perhaps through art sensibility can be taught [2]. Not through ideas [3].

The conception of the fusion of individual in eternal will is sublimely expressed by Pérez de Ayala in his metaphor of the sea as the *Sendero innumerable*. To it flows the river.

> Piensa que hace lo que quiere.
> ¿ Y qué hace ? Obedece,
> Obedece, sin sospecharlo, a los caprichos del terreno [4].

This is the fate of the individual will. Most things are beyond its reach [5]. One man is by nature strong and another weak [6], and no protest avails. The noblest part is to say : " Estoy lleno de goce... de la maravillosa coordinación de mí mismo con la energía universal [7]. " The ocean, which is the end and sum of all paths, is never at rest. There is but one law for man with the rest of the universe :

> Caminar al mañana y no al ayer,
> Desear, desear hasta morir [8].

Viewed thus, the frustrations of the individual will are less bitter. *Prometeo* is not too bitter. Mark Setiñano learns that happiness is reserved for the man of action after he has spent the best part of his life in perfecting himself as a man of thought. He knows that the thinker's habits of considering from all points of view unfits him for action [9], but his volition transcends his own life. He wills that his

1. *Troteras y danzaderas*, p. 144.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 268. See also *Política y toros*, Madrid, 1925, pp. 295-300.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 383-384.
4. *El sendero andante*, p. 11.
5. *Troteras y danzaderas*, p. 356.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.
7. *El sendero innumerable*, Madrid, 1904, p. 163.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
9. *Prometeo*, Madrid, 1924, p. 40.

child shall have the marvellous life of action that is the logical consequence of his own life of thought [1], that his child shall be a demi-god—and his child is a monster [2]. This Prometeo is a failure; nevertheless Mark's uncle is right when he says, " El Prometeo nace de hombres como tú, hombres animados de ímpetu ascendente, frustrados por esto mismo. Estos hombres frustrados... tengo por mí que son la llevadura de la humanidad [3]. " Individual failure cannot mock the exhortation :

> Sé tú mismo, tu dueño, sé iseño.
> Haz de tu vida prodigioso sueño
> renovándose sin cesar.
> Abrázate al flotante leño.
> Échate a navegar por el mar [4].

To be master of oneself is not to accomplish great things, but to be supremely conscious of life : " Sobre tiempo y espacio eres una atalaya [5]. " Feeling is deeper than thought, as the mist, which draws together who would see each other,

1. *Prometeo*, pp. 29-31.

2. The theme in *Prometeo* and in Unamuno's *Amor y pedagogía* is the same : the attempt to produce the superman; but the failure in *Amor y pedagogía* is due to the helplessness of science in the face of the desire for immortality which can be satisfied only by a will which transcends reason; in *Prometeo* the individual's failure to attain immortality in his child, however crushing, is only one of the ironic details incident to a system which exists for universal, not individual will. In *Amor y pedagogía* the failure comes from not taking into account the human desire for immortality; in *Prometeo* it shows the vanity of that desire. Micaela, of *Luna de miel, luna de hiel* and *Los trabajos de Urbano y Simona* is another example of frustration. For a comment on *Prometeo* see R. H. Keniston, introduction to translation by Alice P. Hubbard and Grace Hazard Conkling, New York, 1920, p. VIII.

3. *Prometeo*, p. 43.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

5. *El ombligo del mundo*, Madrid, 1924, p. 7.

is nobler than the sun[1]. Isolation is the denial of life :

> Amigo :
> cuando estás más enajenado,
> o acaso ensimismado en tu vuelo profundo,
> tanto más eres juguete del Hado.
> No pretendas creerte ombligo
> del mundo[2].

Pérez de Ayala's reverence for feeling leads him to scorn the empty words which so often take its place. *Luna de miel, luna de hiel* and *Los trabajos de Urbano y Simona*[3] show how two children grow into the experience of love gradually without knowing any of the formulae with which society has surrounded it. *Belarmino y Apolonio*, too, shows the beauty of sincere feeling. Against Apolonio, the typical dramatist, who covers complete lack of emotion with the wordy gift of provoking it in others, Pérez de Ayala sets his ideal philosopher, Belarmino, who reduces language to its lowest point, but lives, for the most part in silence and within himself, all the experiences of his world. " El filósofo vive todos los dramas; jamás es espectador... El filósofo llora por dentro y sonríe por fuera[4]. " He imposes upon himself that outer serenity which the Greeks called *sofrosine*[5]. His part in the universal will is to move on through ever widening and deepening sensibility to the complete consciousness of life which is its mastery.

1. *El ombligo del mundo*, p. 147.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
3. Madrid, 1923.
4. *Belarmino y Apolonio*, Madrid, 1921, p. 279.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 273.

CONCLUSION

As stated at the beginning of this study, the interest in the will which has dominated contemporary Spanish ideology came to it mainly from two directions : its practical consciousness of the potency of European and American civilization, and its permeation by the philosophies, especially those of Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, which made the will the center of their thought. To the first stimulus Spain has reacted very slightly. The great movement for her regeneration, heralded so loudly in the years immediately following 1898, never came to fruition, being early overshadowed by the spread of pessimism, and the preaching of western civilization now being done by a journalistic and scientific younger group in the name of culture, utilitarianism, and scientific progress has not yet lost its air of a foreign importation.

Of the two philosophers mentioned, only one had much influence on the regenerative movement. It was undoubtedly under the influence of Nietzsche that Ganivet preached individual as well as national regeneration through the thoughtful study and reverent following of Nature. Pío Cid is a Nietzschean superman engaged in regenerative processes, yet the impulse towards regeneration was not fundamental in Ganivet. His contact with northern civilizations gave him a temporary interest in saving souls and keeping count of their number, but he was at heart mystical and remote, an individualist of the old Spanish breed.

The stress laid upon nationalism in such works as the *Idearium español*, combined with the crises of the moment, resulted in a burst of enthusiasm for the study of Spain with an eye to her regeneration on the part of essayists

and writers of treatises like Macías Picavea, Morote, Salillas, Altamira, and Costa, but they were not capable of giving literary expression to the needs of their time, and those who had that gift fell all too soon under the influence of Schopenhauerian pessimism, which conceived the will as a relentless life force, forever prodding man into effort which inevitably left him unsatisfied, a pessimism which chilled and paralyzed and sent each man to wrap himself in whatever illusions he might find to shield him from intolerable reality. The will haunted them all, and they filled their pages with men of iron will or sufferers from *abulia*.

The three individualists, *Azorín*, Pío Baroja, and Unamuno, unquestionably the greatest writers of their generation, shared at first in the enthusiasm for the rediscovery and regeneration of Spain, but they fell away one by one, *Azorín* into complete nihilism, Baroja into a trick of disguising the fatuity of life with adventure, Unamuno into a mystical deification of the will, creator of an ideal world, quite apart from negligible reality. Unamuno set up desire as a truth of its own, as a reality in itself, and he came to conceive of the Spaniard as an essentially irrational being, instinct with a passionate African mysticism, and utterly incapable of assimilating the rational culture of Europe.

The individualists all feared the power of the will, and sought to placate it, each in his own way, but the tyranny of Schopenhauer's conception comes to an end in the pantheism of Pérez de Ayala. He too conceived of the will as a part of the universal energy, but as a glorious thing, in which man should gladly sink himself and his individual will, as the stream rejoices to lose itself in the ocean. Man can do himself no harm so great as by shutting himself up within the desires and limitations of his personality. Pérez de Ayala is rationally with Schopenhauer in considering the negation of individual will as the only tolerable solution

of life, but what the German philosopher concedes in sorrow and resignation the Spaniard seeks joyfully, as the noblest of ends.

Neither individualist nor pantheist makes of the will a means of constructive action. The tendency is all towards a life of the spirit, resigned or joyous, but in either case savoring rather of Oriental contemplation than of the Occidental " rapture of pursuing ". In the end Spain, only slightly conscious of impinging material civilizations, pauses a moment to feed her age-long fatalism from European philosophies, and goes her imperturbable way.

Doris King Arjona.

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